

'VOTING' AS A MODE OF  
POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

A Study of the Voting Behaviour of  
the Residents in Shatin, Hong Kong.

By

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## ABSTRACT

The general decline of elections in the standing of political institutions in the Western countries reflects that the function of elections in Western countries becomes blurred. In Hong Kong, however, it is quite a new era.

In discussing the subject of political phenomena in the community of Sha Tin, I believe that the aim of applying logical methods is for the construction of adequate explanations and descriptions of the phenomena. To participate in the field of Sha Tin's political sociology, a real academic contribution can be made through well done empirical studies.

The present study deals with not only the voting turnout in March 1982 and in future, but also the extent of residents participation in community affairs and electoral affairs. Besides that the focus is also on the political attitude towards District Administration in Sha Tin.

From the data of 243 respondents, we found out that, the the variable 'electoral involvement' has the greatest effect on voting turnout in March and the variable 'political satisfaction' has the greatest effect on the likelihood of voting in future. The

theories of socioeconomic status which could be broadly applied in Western voting may not be suitable in Sha Tin elections. Since the characteristics of Sha Tin residences were rather homogeneous, then the effect of socioeconomic status on political factors are not significant.

However it would be more interesting if the future study will focus on the comparative study of traditional and modern types of community.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Research Problem

One of the most notable concerns of contemporary political sociologists is the manner and the degree of citizen participation in politics [1]. If I claim that this empirical study is concerned about the discipline of political sociology, there arises a problem of definition. To begin with, let us take what is perhaps the definition of the term political sociology. The political processes in the field of political sociology include community politics, political socialization, class consciousness, political participation and voting etc. (Orum 1978). Levis A.Coser stated that 'political sociology is concerned with the social causes and consequences of given power distributions within societies, and with the social and political conflicts that lead to changes in the allocation of power' [2]. Political sociology claims that to understand the political order as well as specific instances of political behaviour, such as voting attitude and behaviour, there must be studies with reference to social factors, such as: social stratification, literacy, pattern of social groups or the value systems, beliefs, ideologies and perspective of political actors etc.

In many well developed democratic countries, elections of government officials is a routine of political participation, and election studies is a national passtime. In Hong Kong, however, it is quite a new era. Despite their importance for democratic government, District Board election is a breakthrough in the development of political culture in Hong Kong. Voting is a way to bestow the rights to residents. But who will accept this bestowal? What kinds of residents will be aware of the importance of voting? Who will denounce elections as unreliable and deceitful? To what extent are residents satisfied with the political situation? To what extent will citizens feel that through election the government is sincerely trying to decentralize administration? To answer all these, we must first know the political characteristics of residents in District Board election.

The voting study in New Territories District Board election of this paper, is to investigate the political process of the power redistributions among social groups in district level. This is also a process of 'institutional transfer' [3], that is transplanting the bureaucracies and legislatures into other societies. District Administration can be considered as a step of transplanting western democratic systems of autonomy into Hong Kong district areas. However, political sociologists, interested in political activities, try to explain how and in what ways the social and the political are interrelated. Here, I had to emphasize that this is not the intention of social reductionism which reduces



political affairs to spoils of the social, but to consider the multi-factors and to understand the interaction between social and political phenomena. On the other hand, the application of sociological theories in political activities may concretize the foundation of the epidemiology of political sociology. At the empirical level, most research in political sociology has been directed towards investigating the social basis of party identification and voting behaviour. Dowse and Hughes (1975), considered that the investigation of voting choice, degree of hierarchy in political parties, and revolutions etc. may pave the way for the construction of Merton's theories of the middle range [4]. These theories refer only to a small segment of social life, but the epidemiology of the sociological discipline is accumulation of these specific theories.

The problem of political participation in selecting unofficial members of the District Board remains a serious obstacle to the work of District Administration. The problem exists, however, on all levels and is much wider than the electoral field. Basically this is the problem of many misunderstandings of political value as well as the ideology of political participation.

The difficulty is due to the loose foundation of political culture in Hong Kong. If the socialization of political culture is not obvious, residents in Hong Kong do not have a proper channel for the formation of political value



and political belief. They do not know how to behave during participation.

On the other hand, there is the influence of conventional ideology in Chinese folk norms. They are designed to maintain and enforce particularistic-oriented values, such as 'human consideration' and 'A person who does not repay a favour is not worth being human' (Lee 1981). It is more likely that a person votes not from a sense of civil duty or political interest but because it is a way of repayment. Many people vote without choice or even not politically involved. It was because people know nothing about the real meaning of voting. Residents in the New Territories of Hong Kong may emphasize the kinship relationship as well as the human consideration during the District Board election. It is likely that in the more secluded regions, like the outlying districts, the Northern part of New Territories, and Sai Kung, voters emphasize more regional and lineage relationship (Social Policy Research Centre 1982). The voting turnout rate is thus very high.

How about Sha Tin New Town? It is situated only a few miles north of Kowloon urban area, to which it is linked both by road and rail. There has been a large scale internal migration of urban population into the New Town which reduces the proportion of blood-tied villagers. This wave of urbanization shakes the political basis in Sha Tin (Cheng 1982). (The political background of Sha Tin will be discussed

in Appendix A).

Besides that, the administration of Sha Tin New Town had to transform from the system which was designed primarily for traditional political process in rural areas to the system which fulfills the needs of urbanized communities (Scott 1980). The political dependence of indigenous inhabitants on the traditional political structure, like the Rural Committee and the Village Office is bound to decline; at the same time, the linkage function and the leadership status of the structures like Village Office etc. among the newcomers is replaced by the emergence of District Administration (kwan and Lau 1977).

When compared with other areas in the New Territories, the voting turnout in Sha Tin District Board election 1982 was low. It could be that, since the living style of Sha Tin residents is similar to urban area, people are less easily mobilized for voting when compared with the traditionalistic Sha Tin. The pattern of political participation is different from the areas in which there are strong kinship ties. Another reason could be that usually newcomers in a community have a low turnout rate (Lipset 1960). Anyhow, the changing value and pattern of political participation in Sha Tin, may push Sha Tin inhabitants to be more aware of community participation.

Sha Tin appears to be a typical new town in New



Territories. About 60% of the 200 thousand residents live in public housing estates. Most of the public housing estate were newly constructed within the past five years and most of the residents are newcomers (Hong Kong's New Town: Sha Tin, New Territories Development Department PWD Hong Kong 1980). Approximately, only one eighth of the people who live in Sha Tin are indigenous residents.

In 1965 The Public Works Department prepared a comprehensive development scheme which recommended the development of a Sha Tin New Town with a population target of about one million. However, a revised draft development plan was prepared in the early 1970's which provided for an ultimate population of about five hundred thousand. But nowadays, there are only two hundred thousand inhabitants living in Sha Tin. This represents relatively lower population densities and higher environmental standards than had been envisaged earlier (New Town Development Department 1980). Probably a lower population density could help to reduce the problems of political disorder, civil strife, social participation and social alienation (Lee 1981). Therefore, in my study, I would assume that in this way, the development of Sha Tin New Town has provided a rather favourable environment for the development of social and political culture and that the negative effect of the ecological factors will not be discussed in the study.

Voting is a mode of political participation, but voting



turnout alone is not a sufficient measure of the intention of residents to support or to resist those who govern. Participation in voting is not an unique measure of political participation. There are many other criteria (see Appendix B). The main problem with which this paper deals is not only the voting turnout but also the extent of residents participation in community affairs and electoral affairs. Besides that, the focus of this study is also on the political attitude towards District Board elections in Sha Tin New Town, Hong Kong. With these foci is the attempt to find out: Under what condition do constituents exercise the franchise? We also attempt to know the cognitive mapping of Sha Tin residents towards District Administration.

### PREVIOUS STUDIES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Related Research

In most of the studies of political sociology, quantitative methodology has propelled any effects in the field. The analysis of voting behaviour and attitude of mass electorate have been presented in voluminous literature. Published during the early period of research on voting was the book named 'Quantitative Methods in Politics' was written by S.A.Rice [5]. It was considered as a classic in the field and is the first noteworthy attempt to connect quantitative research on voting behaviour with more general social science problems, such as the study of social change and the determinants of attitudes as well as the political behaviour as the manifestation of political attitude [6].

The earlier major survey-type election study, "The People's Choice" (Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet 1948), was made in the Roosevelt-Willkie election of 1940 in Ohio. The focus of this study was on the analysis of opinion formation. It pointed out that the function of contact with an opinion leader is more important than exposure to formal propaganda in its effect on political behaviour and political attitude. The authors also suggested that people on a high level of interest



in an electoral campaign (a) had more opinions on issues involved in the election; (b) participated more in election events; and (c) exposed themselves more to the stream of political communications. The study concluded with sharp recognition of the importance of the voters' personal influence on one another and pointed up the unsolved problem of the role of political issues in the campaigns (Lipset 1960). However, in this study, the respondent's self-rating was the only index they used to measure the interest of respondents in electoral campaign. The classification may be too simple. It is rather difficult to justify the reliability of the subjective self-rating index. Thus, objective items had to be asked in order to check the concept that they called 'interested behaviour' in electoral campaign.

According to S.M. Lipset (1960), who analysed data about electoral behaviour in Germany, Sweden, America, Norway and Finland etc., the pattern of voting participation is the same in various countries. Men vote more than women; the better educated, more than the less educated; urban residents, more than rural; those between 35 and 55, more than younger or older voters; married persons, more than unmarried; higher status persons, more than lower; members of organizations, more than nonmembers. These differences are, however, narrowing in many countries.

In this study, the explanations for the differences between voters and nonvoters may be summarized under four



situations of voting if (1) respondent's interests are strongly affected by government politics; (2) respondent has access to information about the relevance of political decisions to its interests; (3) respondent is exposed to social pressures demanding voting; and (4) respondent is not pressed to vote for different political parties. But the fourth rate is not accessible in Hong Kong District Board election.

Another election study is the book "Voting" written by Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and Mcphee (1954). This studied the voters' perception of politics, their reaction to the issues, their attention to the mass media, their influence on one another's political preferences, the role of class and religious affiliations in politics, and the institutional leadership of the local community. It was concluded that people may tend to vote for the man whom they expect to be the winner. On the other hand, it might be a matter of projection; people may expect that the candidate toward whom they are favorably inclined will win. In the chapter 'Social Psychology of the Voting Decision', the author argued that the sociological approach of the study of voting behaviour probably covers one or more of the following possibilities:

(1) That the variables of a panel analysis should contain information on primary social contacts; such as political discussion with friends, or participate in community organization.



(2) Another variable we should take into account is the institutional positions of the respondents.

(3) We should not only concern with explaining individual vote decisions but rather with accounting for the rates.

(4) We should relate data collected about individuals to other data collected on changes in the activities of political organizations.

(5) We should not confine ourselves to one community but study on a comparative basis several communities which vary in sociologically significant ways.

In considering the manpower, time consumption and economic factors, I decided that in this study I cannot follow the fifth argument stated above. On the other hand, even this is not a panel study, we also had to consider the factors of primary political contacts, and the second argument stated above can be met by the variable socioeconomic status in my study. In the study, socioeconomic status act as an antecedent variable with respect to political factors and voting.

The following statements from the book of 'Voting' are related to this sample survey:

(1) The greater the political participation, the greater the interest in the election; political factors in the election come to influence interest more than social factors.

(2) People belong to organizations congenial to their own political position. The electoral effects of organizational



membership are greater for those less interested.

(3) Political discussions are made up much more of mutual agreement than of disagreement in election. People who do not discuss politics are much more likely to follow the secular trend irrespective of groups.

(4) Formal contact is not particularly effective in changing constituents decision. Acquaintance with candidates is correlated with change in voting.

(5) The more exposure to the campaign in the mass media, the more interested voters become and the more strongly they come to feel about their candidate. The more exposure to the campaign in the mass media, the more correct information the voters have about the campaign and the more correct their perception of where the candidates stand on the issues.

Another similar study of electoral behaviour was conducted by Bennay, Gray and Pear (1956) in Greenwich, Great Britain. This was the first inquiry of its kind. The findings were presented in the book "How People Vote". The whole survey leant heavily on the techniques described in Paul Lazardsfeld (1948). The questionnaires design borrowed heavily from the political survey of Berelson (1954). The study concluded that among the variables religion, socioeconomic status, union membership and age the one most strongly associated with differences in vote is social class. Moreover, the interested were better informed and had more definite opinions, that they joined in political information than did the uninterested. However, those least interested in politics appear to be the



most likely to change their minds during election.

In 1952 the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan undertook the research reported in 'The Voter Decided'. The study was carried out by Angus Campbell and his colleagues. This report emphasized studying the psychological intervening variables. Little attention is given to social factors such as socioeconomic status or interpersonal contacts. It performs a great service to the historian of the future by providing national projections of its sample findings. Another theme concerns participation as a dependent variable. An index of political participation was constructed; it was composed of items concerning respondents' electioneering, campaign contributions, and turnout at the polls. Moreover, the most important theme is concerned with the motivation towards candidate preference. Motivation is seen as composed of three basic variables, party identification, issue partisanship, and candidate partisanship (Burdick and Brodbeck 1959).

Another impressive study, "The American Voter", by Campbell, Converse, Millerand Stokes (1960), was based mainly on the 1952 and 1956 national surveys. It continued the emphasis on partisanship and political attitudes [7].

Another approach to study voting turnout is through the study of political behaviour. William H. Flanigan (1968) published a book 'Political Behaviour of the American



Electorate'. In this book, he summarized the analysis of American political behaviour. He tried to explore the characteristics of the electorate during the past hundred years and concentrated on explanation of non-participation and particularly of non-voting in recent years. He also investigated the social background of partisans and independents and some of the main social explanations of political behaviour are described with an emphasis on primary-secondary groups and social class. He also considered economic and psychological factors such as political opinion and ideology. In the argument that the associations between voting turnout and political interest has a positive correlation, there are two exceptional cases. The first deviant case, of high interest and little or no turnout, may be a situation of voluntary alienation in which individuals withdraw from political participation purposefully. This may be due to dissatisfaction with or being offended by the political system. The second deviant case, low interest and high turnout, is due to 'manipulation'; it refers to a situation in which individuals with little information or interest become involved in voting. He also found out that partisanship is the most important single influence on political opinions and voting behaviour. Usually, the pioneer studies in voting behaviour ignored partisanship because the early emphasis was on social variables like religion and occupation. In his study, he tried to have a break through in the field.



Mulcahy and Katz (1976) attempted to determine turnout rates among various groups of people who were involved in politics. They concluded that party identification remains a powerful predictor of vote for those who have an identification, but the overall importance of party identification will dramatically decline in America. This variable is not suitable to apply in the District Board election in Hong Kong. Since constituents do not have any obvious party identification, they seldom participate in political organization. Anyhow, the significant effect of political issues has increased in American elections, compared to the 1950's more Americans have more opinions about more political issues, are more likely to have an idea about where candidates stand on the issues, and are more likely to vote in ways consistent with their issues opinion. In Hong Kong this factor can be considered in the study of voting.

Another focus was on the investigation of political campaign, Martz and Baloyra (1976) studied the politicization and political participation in Venezuela. In this research they placed much attention on the democratic political campaigning. Their idea based on Richard Rose's commentary, and suggested that the study of voting behaviour and the study of the behaviour of campaigners are important for understanding politics. Social Scientist have concentrated much more sophisticated attention upon the systematic study of voters. But they do not have a similar sophisticated conceptual framework for studying the behaviour of



campaigners. Therefore in their study they paid much attention to it. In discussing citizen involvement and interest of involvement, they pointed out three separate aspects of campaign mobilization. The first is exposure to the campaign including campaign behaviour on the part of the mass public. Next is an area of more active involvement, including participatory activities of several types. Last, is the concern about the campaign as well as its perceived impact on the public.

From the above investigation, we may understand the factors that affect the voting turnout rate. Now let us turn the focus on the meaning of election and its significance. What does the lack of participation in election reflect? Even residents are willing to vote, then what does it mean? In the western democracies, non-voting is a reflection of the stability of the political system, a response to the decline of major social or political conflicts, and an increase in cross pressures (Lispet 1960). When a nation faces a crisis, such as a sudden change in a social and political or economic system, it may lead to greater interest in politics. Andre Siegfried a French has documented the effect of "Crisis election" on turn out during the period 1876 to 1906 in France. During these elections when the issues of republican or monarchical government were crucial, voting turnout was high. Moreover, American studies suggest that the economic crisis situations of 1896 and 1936 and the international crises of 1916, 1940, and 1952 all provoked unusually



high turnouts [8].

There are also many social scientists who prefer lower voting rate. Their argument is that constituents may be satisfied with the way things are going. In 1936, a political scientist Francis Wilson, pointed out that high voting rate implied that the tensions of political struggle are stretching to the breaking point [9].

A Swedish social scientist Hebert Tingsten pointed out that the extremely high vote in various nations like Germany and Austria at the point where their democracies began to break down, and he suggested that a huge turnout was a symptom of the decline of consensus. Another American political scientist Munro, argued that increased political participation might threaten the workings of democracy since nonvoting was largely combined with the most ignorant participation of electorate. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether high participation actually is a good thing. As Riesman (1959) had commented, "bringing sleepwalkers to the polls simply to increase turnout is no service to democracy "[10].

In the West, development of electoral systems can be analysed with five successive stages. The first stage, the pre-revolutionary phase, was characterized by marked local variations in franchise practices, with citizenship being largely determined by people of wealth and status. The American and French Revolutions mark the beginnings of a



second stage, when the franchise rules became more standardized. In this classical era of political philosophy it stressed formal equality of influence among citizens. Citizenship in this era was in practice dependent upon legal requirements, such as property or status, since it was still widely believed that economic dependents do not have political judgement. Such economic restrictions are abolished in the third stage with the emergence of the mass electorate. The fourth stage is mass mobilization, when all signs of significant economic and social criteria are eliminated as a requirement for the vote. The final, and current, phase is one of continued 'democratization' by extending the franchise to all adults, lowering the age of voting, lowering the age at which one may become a representative in order to increase the number of 'lower-class' legislators [11]. These five phases only give a rough classification in the process of political participation, but in many politically developing places the demarcation between each phase becomes blurred. When we take Hong Kong District Board election as an example, it seems that it is in the fourth and the fifth stage, since the political culture is not well developed in this society. Some one may say it is a transformation stage, but what I am concerned with is the problem of maturity during the development of political culture.

As to the functions of elections, it is to provide the opportunity for a peaceful succession and transfer of ruling power. In contemporary political systems, elections seem to be



an established manner of rotating and transferring office. Election does help to restrain the ruler or government, in order to eliminate the arbitrary manner of ruling power. It is because a ruler can be replaced by an election that he is more likely to be responsive, to act in a non-arbitrary fashion. Elections also serve to integrate an institution or polity by maintaining the legitimacy of the existence of the governing system.

Richard Rose (1967) studied the functions of election campaign and stated that a campaign is seen as a feedback mechanism. It has a means of exchanging information so that the views of office holders and electors can be mutually adjusted to the advantage of the electorate. He applied four types of variables in measuring the degree of irrationality and rationality in campaigning; they are individual characteristics, institutional arrangements, cultural conditions and environmental circumstances. His study concentrated much more sophisticated attention upon the conceptual framework for studying the behaviour of campaigners because he thought that it is a way to influence voters' decisions. But on the other hand we may argue that election campaigns may be turning into mechanisms for manipulating voters especially for those who are irrational in choosing.

In discussing political participation, there is virtually no empirical study that does not consider the variable of socioeconomic status<sup>12</sup>. Many Western studies show a



reasonably strong positive correlation between socioeconomic status and political participation. Orum (1978) stated that, the higher one's standing in the stratification hierarchy of a society in terms of socioeconomic status, the higher the rate of one's political participation. This observation holds true for whatever measures are employed to reflect the underlying dimension of socioeconomic status; such as occupational rank level of educational attainment, amount of family income or the three combined-as well as for a wide variety of indices of political participation-ranging from voting turnout to the more extensive forms [13]. Since the variable socioeconomic status is so important in the empirical study of political participation. In this study socioeconomic acts as an antecedent variable, to test the causal relationship between political factors and voting turnout.

Actually, neither high nor low rates of participation in voting may be good or bad for democracy, rather the nature and motivation of participation and voting which may determine the value or the survival of democracy.

## 2.2 Conceptualization

The two main concepts of the present research are political participation and political attitude towards District Administration. In Hong Kong Chinese people are often characterised as politically passive in the behavioural sense, but on the other hand, they are politically active in the cognitive



dimension (Lau 1982). The selection of these two concepts are based on the distinctive factors of psychological and behavioural manifestation.

Taking political participation in its broadest sense, it may be defined as a variety of ways that citizens seek to exercise influence over political process. Usually we think of a political process as including not only the operation of government but also the pattern of social and human interaction, by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers, in the formation of public policy, and in the involvement of political activities voluntarily.

Most of the survey-type studies of political participation confined their investigation to a relatively limited scope. Most asked whether a person had voted or not. Yet, voting alone, is not a sufficient measure of the extent of political participation. According to Milbrath and Go (1976), even a 'spectator' of political affairs can be considered as a person who is minimally involved in politics. In political process, voting is not the only sign denoting as political participation.

Verba and Nie (1971) conducted a cross-national comparative research of political participation. In their finding they discovered that the modes of political participation are multi-dimensional. This finding is quite similar in Milbraths (1968) study in the Buffalo, New York



area. In the Buffalo Survey, (1968) the finding indicates that voting is more an act by which the citizen firmly declares his loyalty to the system rather than an act by which he makes demands on the political system. The direct way to make demands on the political system is not from the procedure of selecting rulers, but the action to handle political affairs at the state level, the local or the grassroot level. Some participants focus their attention on what the system demands from them, while others focus on the benefits they get from the system. The motivation of participations may differentiate on the extent of political socialization and the conception of civil responsibility. No matter what motivation they have, participants are playing roles. Various communications, acts and expectations tie them together to make input into the official decision-making. Basically these roles are played at local level such as community organizations, interest groups, parties, informal power structures, press groups and social welfare institutions etc. These organizations can act as mediating agencies between the citizen and the government. While individuals may participate directly and more easily with an official decision maker, they also can route their input through community structures by joining these community groups (Milbrath and Goel 1968). This argument took a much broader view of political participation in the community level.

Milbrath and Goel (1976) summarize many studies and constructed the modes of relationship between individuals and



the policy. They summarized that there are seven types of participations; (1) protestors: they especially were demanding, among other things better protection for civil rights and better economic opportunities. (2) Community activists wanted a better community, emphasized more on voluntary action or service in private groups. (3) Communicators liked to observe and discuss what goes on in government and politics, they are characterized by a critical manner. (4) Contact specialists sought special responses to personal needs. (5) patriotic supporters preferred conventional government, they have the function of justice, security, order or leadership. This kind of classification can be narrowed down in the community level. Let us take Sha Tin as an example, members of the Rural Committee can be considered as the 'patriotics' stated above besides that a community newspaper may fulfill the functions of 'communicators'.

The above classifications concerned about the political participation at the state level as Milbrath and Goel stressed. On the other hand, according to their classifications, we found that they did not consider the psychological aspects of involvement. Social or political awareness also can be considered as a way of political participation. People may participate in an attitude level rather than concrete action. These kind of participants stress more on the sense of belonging as well as the ideology of civil responsibility. In another study Milbrath identified



fourteen different forms of citizen participation in politics. He gathered the different forms in a hierarchy of involvement in which the greater citizen participation occurred in holding public and party office and the least exposing oneself to political information (see appendix B). According to this hierarchy, the items 'attempting to influence someone to vote', 'involved in political discussion', and 'voting' etc. are in the lower level of involvement. The higher levels involve considerably greater effort, such as holding public office, being a candidate, contributing directly in a political campaign. Usually persons involved at one level are also likely to involve themselves at lower levels.

The most technically and theoretically sophisticated attempt to study citizen participation is found in an empirical study by Verber and Nie (1972) of participation among American citizens. They developed a theoretical model of the clusters of activities. The model paid more attention to participation in an electoral campaign and community activities (see appendix B). It was also mentioned in many studies that persons who are well integrated into their community tend to feel close to the center of community decisions and are more likely to participate in politics.

From the above discussion, the concept "political participation" in the present study is broken into two dimensions:

(a) Community involvement, which refers to inhabitants



participating in or being aware of any community affairs. They take part in community activities in solving community problems. On the other hand, participation in terms of psychological involvement, include a sense of social responsibility and cohesion with the community. Moreover, public awareness of and responsible interest in community affairs are considered as basic levels of involvement (Ko 1980).

(b) Electoral involvement, which refers to constituents participating in or being aware of an electoral campaign before voting, such as participation in meetings and rallies or constituents helping the campaign for one of the candidates. Election campaign is seen as a 'feedback' mechanism. Constituents involved in a election campaign can exchange information so that the views of candidates and constituents can be mutually adjusted to the advantage of the electorate (Rose 1967).

Campbell (1960) has defined the differences between high-stimulus and low-stimulus in election campaigns. In a high-stimulus election, person have a high degree of involvement in election campaign. They perceive the importance of getting information in election campaigns and are aware of the going events of election campaigns.

Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee (1954), suggested that persons with a positive attraction to election campaign or



politics are more likely to receive stimuli about elections. Other study evidence suggests that electoral involvement is a tendency for constituents picking up more stimuli in election campaigns. This stimulation may come from the mass media, from campaign literature, from meetings, or from personal contact etc.

Another main concept of the present research is "political attitude", which is based on cognitions, with feelings of either attraction or repulsion attached, satisfaction or dissatisfaction inclined. A person may feel a duty to vote, or he may feel an obligation to support candidates by all means. Milbrath and Goel (1976) emphasize that political behaviour is very dependent on the cognitions, the attitude, and the psychological factors of actors. There are many studies concerned about psychological involvement; it is considered as a central attitudinal variable relating to participation in politics. In order to understand the psychological factor of actors, we should know whether or not they are satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the political system. We also ought to know whether or not they like or dislike being involved in political activities. From the concern of actors we may find out another aspect of political attitude, by which we know the duty and feeling of civil responsibility. From the studies of Campbell (1960) and Marvick and Nixon (1961), they found that persons feeling a duty to participate in politics are more likely to vote.



The present paper designs that the degree of political satisfaction and the degree of concern with voting can be used to measure the concept of political attitude of the present study:

(a) Political satisfaction, which refers to the positive evaluations of citizens, which are based in part on the belief that the political order is responsive to their demands. It does not matter whether it is individual or collective demands, the results may show from the output of political process, such as voting turnout. According to normative theories of democratic representation, citizens express their satisfaction through electoral process, interest group activities, or direct communication with public officials. Usually the officials had to translate citizen demands into public policy, subsequently, citizens evaluated their performance, and if rated positively, citizens felt satisfaction with the political process. Otherwise, they will not continue to feel supported and other methods will be used to express their dissatisfaction (Barnes and Kaase 1978: Chapter 4).

People evaluate the political system will affect their propensity to act in politics. Additionally, it determines whether different types of political satisfaction will lead to different kinds and degree of political action. From the normative theories of democratic representation expect citizens play an active role in political affairs. However,



what they actually do in the realm, for those who engage in political activities there is a sense that citizens participating and evaluation will make a difference [14]. Farah, Barnes and Felix Heunks [15] made an assumption that people who feel that the political system is responsive to their needs will show their support for the political order by participating in activities by the regime.

(b) Concern with voting, which refers to the assessment on the importance of voting. More specifically this kind of psychological factors refers to the degree to which citizens are concerned about the effect of voting and concerned about public affairs. Milbrath and Goel summarized many studies and concluded that persons who are more interested in and concerned about the importance of political matters like electoral affairs are more likely to vote (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954). It also refers to the inclination of constituents towards a positive attitude, that is to say constituents are aware of the responsibility in voting.

Up to now, we have attempted to review some of the related literature and to explain the theoretical framework of this study. The research hypotheses and the research model will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

### 2.3 Hypotheses

It is our fundamental proposition that whether or not person votes in March depends upon his political participation and political attitudes. We also attempt to see the likelihood of voting in future depends upon his political participation and political attitudes too. Thus our major research hypotheses are as follows:

- (1) The higher the degree of community involvement, the higher would be the turnout rate.
- (2) The higher the degree of electoral involvement, the higher would be the turnout rate.
- (3) The higher the degree of political satisfaction with District Administration, the higher would be the turnout rate.
- (4) The higher the degree of concern with voting, the higher would be the turnout rate.

#### Auxilliary Proposition:

In the present study socioeconomic status act as the test variable of antecedent (prior in time) to both political factors (independent variable) and voting (dependent variable), to see whether socioeconomic status affects both the variables of political factors and the variable of voting. In this sense, we attempt to test whether the causal relationships between political factors and voting is a spurious relationship. It is an auxilliary proposition that



socioeconomic status is positively related to voting turnout rate.

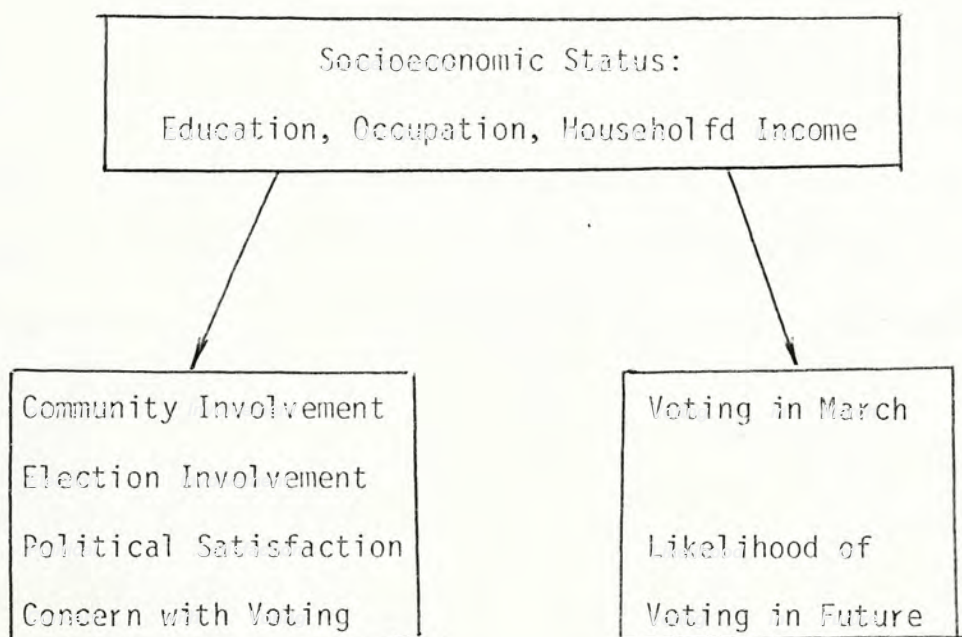
Sub-hypothesis:

- (1) The better educated respondents would have a higher turnout rate.
- (2) The higher the occupational status, the higher would be the voting turnout rate.
- (3) The higher the income level, the higher would be the voting turnout rate.

## 2.4 Research Model

The hypotheses under examination in this project can be transformed into the following model:

<u>(W) Socioeconomic</u>	<u>(X) Political</u>	<u>(Y) Voting</u>
<u>Status</u>	<u>Participation</u>	
(Antecedent Variable)	(Independent Variable)	(Dependent Variable)
W1 Education	X1 Community Involvement	Y1 Voting in March
W2 Occupation Status	X2 Electoral Involvement	Y2 Likelihood of
W3 Household Income	X3 Political Satisfaction	Voting in Future
	X4 Concern with Voting	





## Chapter 3

### METHODOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS

The empirical data that I am using in this thesis was collected in a sample survey. Before the survey I wanted to understand the voting characteristics of Sha Tin residents. Therefore, in-depth interviews and case studies were necessary to construct a foundation of the framework.

In September 1982 I started conducting a series of preliminary interviews with an open-ended questionnaire. The early interviews were in the form of probing questions asked of twenty Sha Tin residents, government officers of Sha Tin District Board and Sha Tin District Office. In these interviews, a very wide variety of subjects were covered. They ranged from the impression of Sha Tin citizens toward district board members, and the attitude towards government performance in the development of Sha Tin New Town, to personal matters, such as adaptation, living conditions etc. In this pilot phase, the main aim was to obtain some ideas on the behaviour and attitude of residents towards the elections that this survey was going to investigate. Besides that I also wanted to make sure about the political characteristics of Sha Tin citizen towards district board elections.

The first objective of this survey was to related the

political characteristics; such as community involvement, electoral involvement, satisfaction with District Administration, and concern with voting to the voting turnout in March 1982. This objective was for the testing of hypothesis with these four variables and voting turnout rate. The second objective was to apply these four variables for the prediction of likelihood of voting in future and try to understand what kinds of resident will vote in the coming election.

### 3.1 Sampling Procedures

Since this thesis is to examine the voting attitude and behaviour of Sha Tin residents, the universe from which the respondents were taken included all the living quarters in Sha Tin listed by the Census and Statistics Department. The method I used was proportionate stratified random sampling with random start.

At the first step of the sampling procedure, I tried to compare the boundaries of Shatin defined by the District Board and by the Census and Statistics Department. The definition of Sha Tin boundaries by the Census Department was based on the T.P.U. of the Lands, Survey and Town Planning Department. This definition is not exactly the same as the district board electoral boundaries. For example, in the T.P.U. definition Chek Nai Ping is included in Tai Po area, but actually it



belongs to the Sha Tin electoral district. Finally the sampling frame was based on the District Board election boundaries.

After making sure about the differences between these two boundaries, I started to formulate the sampling frame according to the Sha Tin District Board boundaries. Considering the manpower, time consumption and economic factors, I decided that the sample size of this survey was fixed at a quota of 250 respondents and an additional 5% to the sample size to make provision for the compensation of the untraceable household or non eligible household, and arrived at the final sample size of 262 respondents. According to the data of living quarters in the Census Department there are two categories of housing in Sha Tin, one is permanent while the other is the temporary housing or squatters in the segment areas. The total living quarters in Sha Tin in March 1983 were 50283 living quarters, 84% of which were living in permanent housing and the other 16% were scattered in 117 segments areas. Since many living quarters in the segment area did not have complete addresses, it was rather difficult to identify the exact location of such elected quarters. After discussing with the technician in the Census and Statistics Department, I decided to make use of random sampling with proportionate to the total number of household in the segment area.

The following formulation was used throughout this sampling process:

### The Calculation of the Sample Size in Permanent Housing

$$\frac{\text{no. of living quarters in permanent housing}}{\text{total living quarters in Sha Tin}} \times \frac{\text{sample size}}{\text{size}} = \frac{\text{sample size in permanent housing}}{\text{size}}$$

$$\frac{42212}{50283} \times 262 = 220$$

### The Calculation of the Sample size in Segment Areas

$$\frac{\text{no. of living quarters in segment areas}}{\text{total living quarters in Sha Tin}} \times \frac{\text{sample size}}{\text{size}} = \frac{\text{sample size in segment area}}{\text{size}}$$

$$\frac{8071}{50283} \times 262 = 42$$

According to this calculation, the sample size drawn from the 42212 quarters in permanent housing is 220 living quarters. The sample size draw from the 8071 living quarters in segment area is 42 living quarters. The skip interval in permanent housing was 191 and in segment area was 191 also.

Since the population of the this survey was based on the living quarters in Sha Tin in August 1981; the period of



District Board registration, the sampling could be biased because of the increasing number of living quarters. The sample frame was based on the number of living quarters in March 1982, but not on the period of District Board Registration in August 1981. According to a rough estimation by Sha Tin District Office, within those six months there were about thirty thousand people who moved into Sha Tin. While drawing a sample, probably there were some living quarters moved in after the period of registration. Besides this, in our interview, we followed the address of the selected households, but there may be essential differences with information actually obtained from the intended sample. Thus some of the individuals may refuse to be interviewed, or it may be impossible to contact any member of the household. As a result we could not obtain information in the sample originally selected.

However, this bias is small since I had a rough idea which private building or public housing was newly constructed and check up whether inhabitants moved in after the date of District Board registration. While drawing sample, I tried to omit these newly constructed buildings. But even if there were some noneligible household to be selected those households would be compensated by the additional 5% household.

In the research design, comparative methods may be used for the analysis of the characteristics of voters and nonvoters. For this reason, unless there were no voter in the

selected household otherwise, the interviewer preferred to choose the members of that household who had voted on March 1982. The interviewers could ask any adult of the designated household, an adult was a person who is 21 years old or above on the day of District Board registration.

The sample survey interviews were carried out by me assisted and accompanied by the third year students of the course 'Sampling and Survey Methods' of the Department of Sociology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong in December 1982. Prior to that a pilot survey of 15 Sha Tin citizens who were not in the sample selected, was made to improve the interviewing technique used.

Table 3-1 The Response Rate of the Questionnaire Survey

Total household of the sampling frame	= 50283
Untraceable household	= 4
Noneligible household	= 11
Uncooperative household	= 4
The expected sample size	= 262
Households successfully interviewed	= 243
Response rate = $243 / 262 \times 100$	= 96%

---



### 3.2 Scale Construction

Among the various changes that have occurred in Hong Kong politics since 80' is the significant phenomenon of the attempt of the government to promote political participation, as well as to raise public aspiration for public services and intervention(Lau 1981). In order to see the extent of citizen awareness, a question of attitude and behavioural involvement towards district affairs had to be measured. In other words, it is necessary to obtain a valid and reliable indicator of political participation and political attitude.

The concept political participation in district affairs is broken into two dimensions 'community involvement' and 'electoral involvement'; each composite index is created for the purpose of measuring only one dimension. Thus items reflecting community involvement should not be included in a measure of electoral involvement, even though two variables might be empirically related to one another. This form of ordinal scale is named partially ordinal scales.(Festinger 1953) If individual A has a higher degree in district involvement and at the same time higher in electoral involvement than individual B, then he can be said, to have a higher degree of political participation than B. Moreover, the concept attitude towards voting is broken by two dimensions 'political satisfaction with District Administration' and 'concern of voting'.

Up to this point, we have discussed the variables I chose for this survey. The next step is to consider the composition of index purporting to measure these variables.

In summary, the questionnaire covers the following aspects:

1. Basic information about the respondents:  
sex, age, occupation, education, place of education, years of living in Sha Tin, family income, average income and living condition. (Section A of the questionnaire.)
2. To measure the degree of community involvement:  
participation in community activities, concern with community affairs and community newspaper reading and opinion voicing. (Section B of the questionnaire.)
3. To measure the degree of electoral involvement:  
participation in electoral activities, aware of electoral affairs, through discussion; reading political view of candidates get information from television, radio, newspaper or magazine etc. (Section C of the questionnaire.)
4. Register or not; Vote or not:  
the motivation and the reasons. (Section D of the questionnaire.)
5. Political satisfaction:  
satisfaction with the District Board members, performance of district administration, satisfaction with government preparation in the District Board election. (Section E of the questionnaire.)
6. The concern with vote:



the understanding of legitimate rights of an eligible voter.  
the willingness of voting. (Section F of the questionnaire.)

A copy of the questionnaire (in Chinese) is attached as  
appendix C

In this questionnaire, there are four set of items that  
might be used to construct four scales, they are 'community  
involvement scale', 'electoral involvement scale', 'political  
satisfaction scale' and 'concern with voting scale'.

Both the community involvement and the electoral involvement  
scale were constructed with a three answers format item. The  
score for each level was as follow:

The answers of each item of the above 2 scales	score
never	1
sometimes	2
often	3

The political satisfaction scale and the concern of voting scale was constructed with a four answers format item. The score for each level was as follow:

The answers of each item of the above 2 scales	score
much agree	1
agree	2
disagree	3
much disagree	4

There are two items one was asking about the feeling towards the ability of elected District Board members, another one was asking the function of monitoring government politics in District Administration. Both of the items has a negative wording with an inverse scoring. Each score has the characteristic that the higher the score of the respondents, the more indication towards the degree of involvement or satisfaction. The scores for individual items of each scale were added to form a total score. The total scores of each scale except the scale of concern with voting were divided into a three category ordinal scale with the rank high, medium, low. The way of data grouping of each category was based on the principle of approximately equal distribution of frequency.

Having designed sets of item to measure community involvement, electoral involvement, political satisfaction towards District Administration, and concern with voteing, the



next phase of scaling required an evaluation of this item set. In order to combine the best single measure and to sort out which item failed apparently at their given task and should be dropped from the final set of items that comprise the scale, I had to find out the correlations among these items. To prove success, however there had to be validation of the index (Babbie 1979). To determine whether the items of each scale had a correlation we tried to examine the internal validation. Clearly, this is an "objective check" (Murphy and Likert, 1938) that If a zero or very low correlation coefficient is obtained, it indicates that the statement fails to measure that which the rest of the statements measure.

In this survey I applied the internal validity testing by means of the Pearson Correlation Coefficients and the reliability testing to compute the correlations between each item and all the other items.

The total score of the community involvement scale ranged from 3 to 9, the score 3 was classified as low in district involvement; this implied that the respondent never participated in any activities that I asked in the questionnaire. The score 4 was taken as medium in involvement; this indicates that the respondent sometimes participated in one type of activity. Finally those score 5 to 9 were grouped as high in involvement; this denoted that the respondent sometimes participated in at least two activities.

Table 3-2

Frequency Distribution of the Community Involvement Scale

	<u>frequency</u>	<u>percentage</u>
Low (3)	53	21.8
Medium (4)	85	35.0
High (5-9)	105	43.2
Total	243	100

Table 3-3 Pearson Correlation Coefficients  
of the Community Involvement Scale

	involvement	services	news	opinion
Involvement	--	--	--	--
Services	.67**	--	--	--
News	.71**	.14*	--	--
Opinion	.68**	.29**	.21**	1.0
* p<.05      ** P<.001				

Reliability Coefficients : Alpha = .43

The above table shows that the correlation between the score of each item and the total score of items in the community involvement scale had reach the 0.001 level of significant. On the other hand, alpha is .49 it is not so high . However, we accept the above items for the construction of the community involvement scale,. since the pearson correlation shows that it



is statically significant. Therefore the construction of the community involvement scale, can be based on the three items; community service, community newspaper reading and opinion voicing.

The total score of the second scale of electoral involvement ranged from 5 to 15. The score 5 to 6 was classified as a low level of electoral involvement, it implied that the respondents were sometimes involved in at most one activity that I asked in the questionnaire. Those score 7 to 8 were codified as medium electoral involvement, it indicated that the respondents sometimes involved in at least 2 electoral activities. Those score 9 to 15 represented respondents who at least sometimes were involved in one activity while at the same time, were often involved in another one.

Table 3-4

Frequency Distribution of the Electoral Involvement Scale

	<u>frequency</u>	<u>percentage</u>
Low (5-6)	64	26.3
Medium (7-8)	94	38.7
High (9-15)	85	35.0
Total	243	100

Table 3-5 Pearson Correlation Coefficients of  
the Electoral Involvement Scale

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Involvement (1)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Discussion (2)	.71**	--	--	--	--	--
News-paper (3)	.75**	.44**	--	--	--	--
TV or Radio (4)	.53**	.13*	.27**	--	--	--
Political view (5)	.78**	.41**	.41**	.30**	--	--
Activities (6)	.50**	.40**	.25**	-.03	.32**	1.0

\*  $p < .05$       \*\* $p < .001$

Reliability Coefficients: Alpha = .67

Note: The correlation of the item 4 (TV or Radio) and item 6 (Activities) were in-significant, perhaps watching TV is so common, that this was a desirable answer, I accept these two items since their correlation with the total score of all items had reach the 0.001 level of significance. Moreover, the alpha is .67 it is high enough to be accepted for the construction of the electoral involvement scale.

The total score of the political satisfaction scale ranged from 4 to 20. The score 4 to 8 was codified as a low level of political satisfaction, it meant that within the 5 items I used ,the respondents were satisfied with at most 2 matters in



district administration. Those who score 9 to 10 were tabulated as medium level, it indicated that the respondents were strongly satisfied with 2 matters in district administration. Finally, those who score 11 to 16 were tabulated as high level, it denoted that the respondents were slightly satisfied with at least 5 matters.

Table 3-6

Frequency Distribution of the Political Satisfaction Scale

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Low (4-8)	40	24.1
Medium (9-20)	72	43.4
High (11-16)	54	32.5
Total	166	100

Table 3-7    pearson Correlation Coefficient of the  
Political Satisfaction Scale

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Satisf- action (1)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Minor Matters(2)	.67**	--	--	--	--	--
Recreat- ion     (3)	.49**	.29**	--	--	--	--
Ability(4)	.62**	.28**	.26**	--	--	--
Monitoring Gov't (5)	.54**	.17*	.07	.17*	--	--
Tricks of Gov't (6)	.51**	.34**	.44**	.27**	.14**	1.0

\*   P<.05       \*\*   P<.001

Reliability Coefficients:    Alpha = .62

It shows that alpha is .62, and it is high enough to accept that the above five items can be used for the construction of the political satisfaction scale. Since reliability is a sufficient condition of validity, then if the items for the construction of the political satisfaction scale is reliable, it is also valid to do so.

The total score of the concern of voting scale ranged from 2 to 8. Those who score 2 to 5 were classified as low in awareness of voting rights. Those who score 6 to 8 were codified as at a high level of awareness.



Table 3-8

Frequency Distribution of the Concern with Voting Scale

	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Low (2-5)	124	53.2
High (6-8)	109	46.8
Total	243	100

Table 3-9 Pearson Correlation Coefficients of the  
Concern with Voting Scale

	Concern	In-significant to vote	Whoever Win
Concern	--	--	--
In-Significant to vote	.68**	--	--
Whoever win	.77**	.56**	1.0

\*\*  $P < 0.001$

Reliability Coefficients: Alpha = .43

Although the alpha of the concern of voting scale is not so high (Alpha = .43), the correlation between each item of the concern of voting scale and the total score of these items had reach the 0.001 level of significant. Therefore, we accept the above items for the construction of the concern of voting scale.

In this study, Gamma will be used to measure the strength of

used to measure the strength of association among variables and  
Chisquare will be used for statistical inference. The  
Statistical Package for the Social Sciences is used as an  
instrument for statistical analysis.



## Chapter 4

### ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOUR OF SHA TIN RESIDENTS IN A DISTRICT BOARD ELECTION

#### 4.1 Political Characteristics and Voting Turnout in March

This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the attitude and behaviour in the decision of voting. In the most elementary sense, elections for District Boards is to enfranchise at the local level, indirectly it confers the power to the selected members to decide district affairs.

Before we study the political characteristics towards voting, we had to have a general understanding of the turnout rate in the Sha Tin District Board election. According to the data of the sample under study there are about 22% of the respondents who voted in March 1982. This percentage is a little higher than the 18.6% the actual turnout rate in the Sha Tin election. Certain subgroups in the sample turnout more than other groups; more males voted, this result is the same as the result of the actual turnout in Sha Tin District Board election. More people in private housing voted than squatter areas, and more people in public housing than either of the above two. Respondents aged 21 to 30 and 31 to 40 have a similar rate of turnout, both of which have a higher rate of turnout than elder group. Since we do not have any data concern about the actual

turnout in the variable, housing types and age, then cannot compare the data in the present study with the actual turnout of these two variables.

Table 4-1 Turnout Variation: Personal Data

(N = 55)

Subgroups	% of voter
Sex:	
Male	61.0
Female	39.0
Housing Types:	
Temporary & Squatter areas	16.4
Public Housing	63.6
Private Housing	20.0
Age:	
21-30	38.2
31-40	40.0
Over 40	21.8

#### 4.2 Political Participation and Voting

On the whole, the main aim of this research is to find out the reasons and not only the turnout rate of voting. The first step is to test the hypothesis of the correlation between electoral involvement and voting.



Table 4-2

## Voting by Electoral Involvement

(N = 243)

Voting	Electoral Involvement		
	Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
No	96.9	86.2	52.9
Yes	3.1	13.8	47.1
(N)	(64)	(94)	(85)
Chisquare = 47.03		P<0.001	
Gamma = .77			

The Table 4-2 shows that people who had a higher degree of electoral involvement would have a higher rate of voting turnout. It means these two variables have a strong and positive relationship. The gamma coefficient is .77 and it is statistically significant. The hypothesized relationship between electoral involvement and voting was therefore confirmed. In this sense, we know that the voter who was aware of electoral affairs may participate in any electoral activities before voting. From these activities they were in a more advantageous position to gather electoral information, political views of candidates, voicing public concern, or even participate in electoral strategies of candidates.

Another dimension of the concept political participation is community involvement. The Table 4-3 illustrates that the degree of community involvement has a great impact on the turnout rate

in District Board election. The relationship is statistically significant at the 0.001 level. The gamma coefficient is .57. The hypothesized relationship between community involvement and voting in March was therefore confirmed. This finding concerning the community background of voters supports my observation that those people who were strongly involved in or aware of district affairs were more likely to vote.

Table 4-3    Voting by Community Involvement  
(N =243)

Voting	Community Involvement		
	Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
No	92.5	84.7	63.8
Yes	7.50	15.3	36.2
(N)	(53)	(85)	(105)
Chisquare = 20.52      P<0.001			
Gamma      = .57			

The above findings show that increased public involvement in politics is associated with higher voter turnout. (Mulchy & Katz 1976) While electoral involvement is the most common form of public involvement in electoral politics, political participation manifests itself in other ways. In this survey the scale community involvement is part of the measurement of political participation.



Since political participation was measured by 2 different scales, community involvement and electoral involvement, it would be of interest to find out whether or not these two scales are related to each other. Table 4-4 presents the association between district involvement and electoral involvement.

Table 4-4 Relationship Between Community Involvement  
and Electoral Involvement

(N = 243)			
Community Involvement	Electoral Involvement		
	Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
Low	37.5	24.5	7.1
Medium	40.6	35.2	29.4
High	21.9	39.4	63.5
(N)	(64)	(94)	(85)
Chisquare = 32.57		P<0.001	
Gamma = .49			

Table 4-4 shows that the associations between community involvement and electoral involvement is positive and is strongly related (gamma = 0.49). It also reaches the 0.001 level of significance. That is to say those with a higher degree of community involvement would also be likely to have a higher degree of electoral involvement.

If we only use the community involvement scale and the electoral involvement scale to measure the relationship between

the political participation of Sha Tin residents and voting, we can only find out the degree of participation on the whole. But how about the effect of specific factors on community and electoral affairs. The following Table 4-5 can help to understand the effect of each item of the scales on the voting turnout rate.

Table 4-5

The Differences between Voters and Non-voters in terms of  
Participate in Community and Electoral Affairs.

		<u>Voters</u>	<u>Non-voters</u>
<u>Participated in</u> <u>Community Affairs</u>			
		%	%
Discuss about	No	27.3	75.5
D.B. affairs	Yes	72.7	24.4
Community	No	50.9	81.4
Services	Yes	49.1	18.6
Community Newspaper	No	21.8	35.6
Reading	Yes	78.2	64.4
Opinion Voicing	No	52.7	75
	Yes	47.3	25
		(N) = 55	(N) = 188



Participated in  
Electoral Affairs

		Voters	Non-voters
		%	%
Electoral information from TV.	No	5.5	11.2
	Yes	94.5	88.8
Electoral information from newspaper	No	10.9	43.6
	Yes	89	56.4
Reading Candidates' handbills	No	18.2	60.6
	Yes	81.8	39.4
Participate in activities	No	63.6	98.8
	Yes	36.3	1
Self-initiated to register	No	34.5	76.5
	Yes	65.5	23.5
		(N) = 55	(N) = 188

Note: For simplicity and clarity, the 'sometimes' and 'often' responses have been combined in the answer 'yes' of this table.

In Table 4-5 there is one item that have unexpected effect. The item reading community news shows that regardless of voters or nonvoters they have a high percentage in reading a community newspaper. There were 78.2% of voters and 64.4% on non-voters reading a community newspaper quite often. However, the

percentage of those reading a community newspaper in voters category are higher than in non-voters category. It also shows that Sha Tin inhabitants seldom participated in community service or voiced their opinion in public. The outcome of the item 'opinion voicing' was expected, most of the citizens; about 70% of the 243 respondents, never voiced their opinion in community affairs, but in the voter category almost half of the voters; about 47.3% of them, had voiced such opinions. It is obvious that voters were more willing to discuss about District Board affairs than non-voter; there were more than 70% of voters had discussed about District Board affairs, on the other hand more than 70% of non-voters never did so.

As to the activities in electoral affairs the answers of which concerned about reading candidates propaganda handbills and the item which probes the motivation of registering have a expected pattern. That is the voter who has a higher percentage in reading candidates handbills at the same time has been self-initiated to register. On the other hand, most of the Sha Tin residents, about 90.9% of the 243 respondents, never participated in any electoral activities organized by candidates or by the government. This table also shows that almost all non-voters, about 98.9%, never participated in any electoral activities organized by government or candidates.

#### 4.3 Political Attitude and Voting

Up to here, we are concerned to know how satisfaction in



politics varied within the community, not only because of its importance for an understanding of the reactions to district administration, but also for the reasons of voting attitude. In this survey, there are two distinct political objectives, the District Board and the government performance in District Administration 16 , The following analysis will investigate the attitude of Sha Tin citizens toward both objects. The assumption is that the degree of satisfaction provides a guidance for the prediction of voting turnout. Table 4-6 presents the association between political satisfaction and the voting.

Table 4-6 Voting by Political Satisfaction  
(N = 243)

Voting	<u>Political Satisfaction With</u> <u>District Administration</u>		
	Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
No	85.0	68.1	72.2
Yes	15.0	31.9	27.8
(N)	(40)	(72)	(54)
Chisquare = 3.86      N.S.			
Gamma = .18			

The above table shows that the degree of political satisfaction with district administration is positively but is only slightly associated with voting. The gamma coefficient suggests that knowing the rankings in political satisfaction, we

can only reduce about 18 percent of the errors in predicting the voting turnout. However, the relationship is weak and is statistically insignificant. Hence, the hypothesis that the higher degree of political satisfaction with district administration would have a higher degree of voting turnout may not be supported by these data.

In my preliminary understanding, this result is due to the ignorance of residents about the performance of District Administration as well as the ignorance of residents about the preparation of the government before the District Board election. Therefore, whether they voted or not is not based on the degree of political satisfaction but on some other variables.

Table 4-7      Voting in March by Concern with voting  
(N = 243)

Voting	Concern with Vote	
	Low	High
	%	%
No	27.1	64.2
Yes	12.9	35.8
(N)	(124)	(109)
Chisquare = 15.59      P<0.001		
Gamma      = .58		

Table 4-7 shows that the variable concern with voting and voting in March have a strong and positive association. The relationship is significant at the 0.001 level. The gamma is .58



In this case, the lower degree of intention towards voting means that the respondents did not care who would win in the election, and at the same time he would think that his vote cannot affect the ballot significantly. It is considered as a negative attitude towards voting. On the other hand, the high side level of the intention implied positive thinking towards voting. To conclude; that the hypothetical relationship of the two variables positive attitude towards voting and a high turnout rate can be confirmed.

Now let us see each item of the scale political attitude and then we can have a more clear picture to understand the impact between satisfaction towards District Administration and attitude towards voting.

Table 4-8

The Differences between voters and non-voters in terms  
of Political Attitude in the District Board Election

Attitude towards			
District Administration		Voter	Non-voters
		%	%
D.B. only deal	(1)	45.3	43.6
with minor things	(2)	54.7	56.4
Gov't is playing	(1)	60.7	53.7
tricks	(2)	39.3	46.3
D.B. only carry out	(1)	33.3	29.3
recreation activities	(2)	66.7	70.7
Gov't has a good	(1)	43.7	33.3
preparation in election	(2)	56.3	66.6
Elected members have	(1)	43.4	48.8
sufficient ability	(2)	56.6	51.1
D.B. has a function	(1)	67.9	54.9
monitoring Gov't policy	(2)	32	45
<u>Concern with Voting</u>			
It doesn't matter who	(1)	72.8	44.4
win in the election	(2)	27.3	55.5



win in the election	(2)	27.3	55.5
It is insignificant even	(1)	78.2	56.7
if I added one more poll	(2)	21.8	43.2
D.B. members can decide	(1)	71.7	73.3
all district affairs	(2)	28.3	26.6
	(N) = 55	(N) = 188	

(1)= disagree

(2)= agree

Since the scale political satisfaction does not have any significant effect on the voting turnout, Table 4-8 is trying to find out the reason of its insignificance. This suggests that most of the respondents has a universal answer. Regardless voter or non-voter they have a similar response in each item such as most of the respondents think that the District Board only deals with minor things and they do not have the function of restraining government politics in district affairs. But on the other hand, almost half of the voters or non-voters thought that government has a good preparation in District Board election. They also thought that District Board members have sufficient ability to bargain for the rights of Sha Tin residents. It is obvious that political satisfaction does not affect the voting turnout rate.

As to the attitude towards District Board election, there

are more than 73% of the 243 respondents who disagree that all district affairs can be decided by District Board members. Besides that, Table 4-8 also appears that if a respondent did not care who would win in the election, probably he was not willing to vote.

Up to this point, we have examined the influence of political factors on voting turnout rate. Political participation and political attitude to a certain extent have affected the turnout in a District Board election. As we have seen, comparatively speaking, there are greater proportions of people interested in voting among the higher SES groups, among the higher political participation groups, and among respondents with positive attitude towards voting.

If the respondents were not interested in community or electoral affairs, then I want to know, whether they would vote if they were encouraged to register. The answer to this question which supports this view is shown in Table 4-9.



Table 4-9 Voting Turnout by the Motivation of Register

(N = 243)

Voting	Motivation to Register	
	Self-initiated	Encouraged
	%	%
No	18.2	57.8
Yes	81.8	42.2
(N)	(44)	(45)
Chisquare = 13.15		P<0.001
Gamma	= -.72	

The above information shows that the self-initiated appear to vote rather than those respondents encouraged to register by government staff. In other words, it support my view that the encouragement through forcible motivation does not necessarily reach the expected effect. The association between forced motivation of registering and voting is negative and strongly related. The gamma is -.72 and the statistical significance is at the 0.001 level.

In order to go futher to determine the motivation of voting, we can study the voting motivation in a direct sense. In the present study there are 13 items asking about the reasons of voting. The following tables shows the result.

Table 4-10 The Motivation of Voting

Voting Motivation	% of Voter
(a) very much concerned with District Board.	11
(b) know nothing about District Board but influenced by others.	2.7
(c) feeling of interest and fun.	2.7
(d) acquainted with the candidate.	4.5
(e) civil responsibility	26.5
(f) instigated by friends.	3.6
(g) vote for Sha Tin indigenous citizens.	1.8
(h) District Board are enthusiastic in district affairs.	18.8
(i) support District Board, it is a prospective institution.	12
(j) the winner will give benefit to me	1
(k) curiosity	2.7
(l) agree with the political view of the candidate.	6.4
(m) know nothing about election, but it doesn't matter to vote	6.4

---

(N) = 55 voters

---

The above information was given by 55 voters only. It pointed out the replies to the questions on what reasons would make them to vote. The majority chose those answers which are based on the positive attitude of voting. There were about 20 out of 55 voters who were aware of civil responsibility. About 12



of them concerned with or supported district administration. Nevertheless, there were 11 voter, about 20 % of all the voters knew nothing about district administration or a District Board election . They may have been instigated by friends or voted only for fun or curiosity, or even for self benefit.

As to the nonvoters we tried to find out why they did not like to vote on March 8, 1982. It may help to promote the turnout rate in the future election.

Table 4-11 The Reasons Respondents did not Vote in March 1981.

<u>Reasons for not voting</u>	<u>% of Non-voter</u>
(a) time is not suitable	11.1
(b) polling station too far away	1.2
(c) knowing nothing about candidates	18
(d) District Board cannot help anything	7
(e) District Board members only seek their own benefit and prestige	5.9
(f) District Board members do not have actual authority to handle district affairs	4.1
(g) do not know what a District Board is or what a District Board election is	11.7
(h) no time to pay attention to district affairs	24.6
(i) gov't is playing tricks in a District Board election	1.8
(j) not interested	14.6

---

(N) = 188 non-voters

---



The dominant reasons of non-voters is time not suitable or time not allowed. There are 35% non-voters who said that they are not free to find out about what voting is or what district affairs are. On the other hand, 19% of the nonvoters are dissatisfied with the performance or functions of a District Board. That is to say, more than 35 out of 188 non-voters do not have confidence in district administration. Besides that there were also 44.3% of the nonvoters who knew nothing about the candidates or did not know what a District Board is and they were not interested in all of the above mentioned.

There were 31 respondents who had voted in March due to one of the following reasons; civil responsibility support district administration, or concerned about the District Board. Within these 31 voters, there were 16.4% of them however, who said that they may not vote in future. Moreover, 19.4% of the nonvoters likewise may not vote in future due to the reasons that they did not trust District Board members or government. Besides that, out of 188 non-voters, there were 11.7% having a high degree of electoral involvement, who at the same time did not vote because they thought that District Board cannot help anything or that District Board members only seek their own benefit and prestige. In this sense, it reveals that some of the respondents did not vote on account of these two reasons of dissatisfaction but not necessarily the extent of electoral involvement. There are 18.1% of the 55 voters had a negative concern towards voting, but they voted because of the following reasons: they knew nothing about the District Board but were influenced by others; or they voted



because of fun or they were acquainted with the candidate. On the other hand, among the 188 non-voters, there were 10.6% classified as higher degree of community involvement. At the same time they did not vote in March because they did not trust the District Board or government.

Moreover, we want to understand the over all effect of the four variables on the variable of voting turnout among Sha Tin residents. Here, I apply the multiple regression analysis to determine the relative effects of the four variables, community involvement electoral involvement, political satisfaction, and concern with voting. The result reveals that the multiple correlation between the voting turnout and the four variables is .48. The relationship is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. In other words, the four independent variables can jointly account for 24 percent of the variance in voting turnout rates. Among these four variables, the variable electoral involvement has the greatest effect on the voting turnout (Beta = .38  $P < 0.01$ ). The second one is concern with voting, but it does not reach the significant level (Beta = .12 N.S.). Theoretically speaking, voting can be considered as the activity of electoral involvement, then probably the effect of electoral involvement on voting turnout is direct and great. The second effective one also directly related to electoral matters, therefore, it is also expectable.

Chapter 5

THE PREDICTION OF THE LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING IN FUTURE

Certainly, at first glance of the previous analysis, it appears that, the subject matter of voting behaviour in Sha Tin follows an expected pattern. However, to what extent this expected pattern can predict the outcome in future? This project is also designed to predict the turnout rate in the immediate future. But before the prediction, it is better to find out whether voters who voted on March 1982 will vote in future.

Table 5-1 Voting in March by Likelihood of Voting in Future  
(N = 243)

Likelihood of Voting in Future	Voting in March	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High	70.9	23.1
Medium	25.5	47.8
Low	3.6	29.0
(N)	(55)	(181)
Chisquare = 45.26		P<0.001
Gamma = .76		

Table 5-1 expresses that respondents who had voted in March would have a higher degree of likelihood to vote in future and



vice versa. The association between these two variables is a positive and is strongly related. The gamma is .76. It is statistically significant at the 0.001 level. From the percentage of the table, we may say respondents who had voted in March probably will be likely to vote in future. On the other hand, from the data of marginal frequency distribution it illustrates that 34% of the total respondents are willing to vote again in future. There are more than 42% of them who have not yet decided whether they will vote or not, and more than 23% are sure that they will not vote in future. It seems that the voting turnout rate in the future District Board election in Sha Tin is not high. Anyhow, this result can be changed, if we know Sha Tin inhabitants of what kinds of political characteristics will vote in future.

#### 5.1 Political Participation and Likelihood of Voting in Future

In the following analysis, we shall try to find out the association between the political characteristics of Sha Tin inhabitants and their likelihood of voting in future. The independent variables to be used will be the same as those variables in the previous analysis. A widely held and common belief is that the Hong Kong public supports citizen participation for all, democratic rules, civil rights and decentralize administrative power to district bases. However, the actual involvement in politics is another story. Therefore, the variable community involvement here is also considered as one of the dimensions for the concept of political participation.

of the dimensions for the concept of political participation.

Table 5-2 Likelihood of Voting by Community Involvement

(N = 243)

Likelihood of Voting	Community Involvement		
	Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
Low	26.9	28.6	17.1
Medium	53.8	44.0	36.2
High	19.2	27.4	46.7
(N)	(52)	(84)	(105)
Chisquare = 14.97		P<0.001	
Gamma = .30			

The table shows that there were one third of the total respondents who claimed that they would vote in future. Within this one third, at least they had a medium degree of community involvement. The relationship between these two variables is positive, and is strongly associated (gamma = 0.30). It reaches the significant level of 0.001. It shows that respondents with a higher degree of electoral involvement would be more likely to vote in future. It suggested that we can reduce 30 percent of the errors in predicting the likelihood of voting in future.

The other dimension useful for the understanding of political participation is the electoral involvement.



Table 5-3 Likelihood of Voting by Electoral Involvement

(N = 243)

Likelihood of Voting in Future	Electoral Involvement		
	Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
Low	34.9	19.4	18.8
Medium	52.4	51.6	25.9
High	12.7	29.0	55.3
(N)	(63)	(93)	(85)
Chisquare = 34.16      P<0.001			
Gamma = .42			

Table 5-3 reveals that there is a significant relationship between electoral involvement and likelihood of future voting. Respondents with a higher degree of electoral involvement would be more likely to vote in future. It shows that knowing the ranking in electoral involvement, we can reduced 42 percent of the errors in predicting the likelihood of voting in future.

Since the electoral involvement scale has the same effect on voting turnout in March as well as the likelihood of voting in future, we try to find out whether each item of the scale also has a similar effect on the voting turnout overtime. Their effect shows in Table 5-4.

Table 5-4

The Respondents' Participation in Community and Electoral Affairs  
Affect their Likelihood of Voting in Future District Board Elections

(N = 243)

		<u>(A) Participate in Community Affairs</u>	
		Will Vote	Not sure/ Will not Vote
		%	%
discuss	No	45.1	74.2
D.B. affairs	Yes	54.9	25.8
community services	No	61.0	81.1
	Yes	39	18.9
community newspaper	No	25.6	35.9
reading	Yes	74.4	64.1
opinion voicing	No	62.2	73.6
	Yes	37.8	26.5



(B) Participate in

Electoral Affairs

		Will Vote	Not sure/ Will not Vote
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		%	%
electoral	No	2.4	13.8
information from TV.	Yes	97.8	86.2
electoral information	No	20.7	44
from newspapers	Yes	79.2	55.9
reading candidate	No	35.4	58.5
handbills	Yes	64.6	41.5
Electoral	No	84.1	94.3
activities	Yes	15.8	5.7
self-initiated	No	42.3	62.2
register	Yes	57.7	37.8

Note: For simplicity and clarity, the 'not sure' and 'will not vote' responses have been combined in the answer 'yes' in this table.

The most effective items on the measuring of the likelihood of voting is concerned about the residents awareness in District Board affairs. If a respondent more often discuss District Board affairs, he is more likely to vote in future. It also appears that community newspaper reading is very common in Sha Tin, From the data of frequency distribution it shows that 67.5% of

respondents read community newspaper. As to the opinion voicing and participate in community services, 70% of them never voiced any opinion and 75% never participated in any community service.

In the electoral activities there are two items, reading candidates propaganda handbills and motivation to register, also have a significant effect on likelihood of voting. It seems that respondents more often get electoral information from TV. and newspapers, but not so common to participate in electoral activities.

## 5.2 Political Attitude and Likelihood of Voting in Future

In Table 5-5 shows that the association between political satisfaction and voting turnout in March is insignificant, but it is interesting to find that the relationship between political satisfaction and likelihood of voting in future are highly associated.



Table 5-5    Likelihood of Voting by Political Satisfaction  
(N = 243)

Likelihood of Voting in Future	Satisfaction with District Administration		
	Low	Medium	High
	%	%	%
Low	65.0	15.3	3.7
Medium	15.0	45.8	44.4
High	20.0	38.9	51.9
(N)	(40)	(72)	(54)

Chisquare = 53.78            P<0.001  
Gamma        = .42

The association between political satisfaction and likelihood of voting is strong and positive. In other words respondents who were more satisfied with District Administration would be more likely to vote in future. The variable has a different effect on voting overtime. The gamma coefficient is .42. It suggests that knowing the ranking in political satisfaction, we can reduce 42 percent of the errors in predicting the likelihood of voting in future.

Another dimension of political attitude is concern with voting. It also has a strong and positive association with likelihood of voting. Table 5-6 shows their correlation

Table 5-6 Likelihood of Voting by Concern with Voting  
(N = 243)

Likelihood of Voting in Future	Concern with Voting	
	Low	High
	%	%
Low	37.7	7.5
Medium	41.8	40.4
High	20.5	52.3
(N)	(122)	(109)
Chisquare = 39.14      P<0.001		
Gamma = .41		

The above table shows that respondents of positive attitude; that is if they are more concern with voting are more likely to vote in future. The gamma is .41. The correlation is statistically significant at the 0.001 level. It implies that knowing the degree in concern with voting, we may reduce 41 percent of the errors in predicting the likelihoods of voting in future. This outcome appears that the variable concern with voting has a similar effect on the voting turnout rate in March as well as on the prediction of likelihood of voting in future.

The following Table 5-7 is to understand the likelihood of voting through each item.



Table 5-7

The Respondents' Political Attitude Affect their Likelihood of  
Voting in Future District Board Elections

Attitude Towards District Administration

		Will vote	Not sure/ Will not vote
		%	%
D.B. members only	(1)	57	37.1
deal with minor things	(2)	43	62.9
Gov't is playing	(1)	68.8	48
tricks	(2)	31.2	52
D.B. only carry out	(1)	37.1	26.4
recreation activities	(2)	62.8	73.6
Gov't has a good	(1)	35.9	36.3
preparation in D.B. election	(2)	64.1	63.7
Elected members have	(1)	67.3	55.4
sufficient ability	(2)	32.5	44.6
D.B. has a function	(1)	67.9	53.1
monitoring Gov't policy	(2)	32.1	46.9

Attitude towards Voting			
		Will Vote	Not Sure/ Will not Vote
		%	%
It doesn't matter who	(1)	71.9	40.4
win in the election	(2)	28.1	59.6
It is insignificant	(1)	81.7	51.8
to vote	(2)	28.3	48.2
D.B. members decide	(1)	74	72.8
all district affairs	(2)	26	27.2

Note: (1) = Disagree

(2) = Agree

Note: For simplicity and clarity, the 'not sure' and 'will not vote' responses have been combined in this table.

In Table 5-7 it displays that 62.9% of the 188 non-voters thought that District Boards dealt with minor things and that 52% of them thought that government was playing tricks in District Board elections. Government is not eager to push democratic politics in District Board. Yet more than half of the Sha Tin residents ; about 58% of the 243 respondents, thought that the District Board does not have the function of monitoring government policy in District Administration. Nevertheless, more than 60% of them said that government had a good preparation in



District Board elections. The attitude scale in Table 5-5 shows that the correlation between satisfaction with District Administration and likelihood of voting has a strong relationship. The limitation of this is that a scale cannot tell the true story in a specific condition, but in each item we can find out the exact responses of Sha Tin residents in specific matters.

The multiple correlation between future voting and the four independent variables; community involvement, electoral involvement, political satisfaction, and concern with voting, is .59. The relationship is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The four independent variables can jointly account for 34 percent of the variance in likelihood of voting in future. Among these four variables, the variable political satisfaction has the greatest effect on the likelihood of voting in future (Beta = .37  $p < 0.01$ ). The second variable is the concern with voting (Beta = .27). The relationship is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. The variable political satisfaction has the greatest effect on the likelihood of voting in future might be due to the increasing understanding of Sha Tin inhabitants towards District Administration. Therefore, the likelihood of future voting probably based on their evaluation of the effectiveness of District Administration, and the degree of satisfaction is based on the evaluation.

## Chapter 6

### SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND VOTING

#### 6.1 Sociological Consideration

Many studies in the West reveal that socioeconomic status, such as income, occupation and education, strongly influences voting behaviour (Lazarsfeld 1944). Mulcahy and Katz (1976) stated that social class may create different life opportunities. The lower class people have fewer advantages, such as education, verbal skills, interpersonal competence in gathering political information and voicing concern. They may consider that voting is little valued. In this survey the variable socioeconomic status only has a small impact on the electoral turnout.

#### 6.2 Socioeconomic Status and Voting in March

Table 6-1 presents voter turnout data for several of the socioeconomic status indicators in a District Board election.



Table 6-1 Socioeconomic Status and Voting in March

(N = 243)

Socioeconomic Status	Voting in March	
	Yes	No
	%	%
Education (A)		
Low (below Junior Secondary)	18.8	81.2
High (above Senior Secondary)	27.3	72.2
Occupation (B)		
Manual	16.3	83.7
Non-Manual	26.9	73.1
Professional	35.3	64.9
Family Income (C)		
Low (below \$ 5000)	18.9	81.1
High (Over \$ 5000)	29.1	70.9
(A) Chisquare = 2.47, N.S.      Gamma = .24		
(B) Chisquare = 5.90, N.S.      Gamma = .19		
(C) Chisquare = 3.21, N.S.      Gamma = .28		

Table 6-1 indicates that the correlation between each of the three socioeconomic status indicators and the voting turnout is clearly linear. The association between education and voting turnout is positive and mildly related. The gamma is .24 but it is statistically insignificant. Moreover the association between occupation and voting turnout is slightly related. The gamma is .19 but the relationship is insignificant. On the other hand,

the information shows that respondents from a higher income family are more likely to vote than are respondents from lower income families. The gamma of this relationship is .28 and it is statistically insignificant. From the percentage distributions of these three indicators, we found out that the less educated, the less prestigious occupations or the lower incomes groups had a lower rate of voting turnout.

Among the three indicators of socioeconomic status, the indicator household income has the highest correlation with voting turnout. Therefore, here we attempt to controlling for household income, in order to see the over-all effect of the four variables on voting turnout. After controlling for socioeconomic status, however, the result appears that in the low income groups, the multiple correlation between the voting turnout and the four variables; community involvement, electoral involvement, political satisfaction, concern with voting, is .46. The relationship is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. That is to say, the four independent variables could jointly account for 21% of the variance in voting turnout rates. Among these four variables, the variable electoral involvement has the greatest effect on voting turnout ( $\text{Beta} = .37$   $P < 0.01$ ). In the higher income groups, the multiple correlation between the voting turnout and the four variables is .52. The relationship is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. In other words, the four independent variables could jointly account for 27% of the variance in voting turnout. The joint effect of these four variables on the voting turnout is more significant in the higher



income group than in the lower. Among these four variables the variable electoral involvement has the greastest effect on the voting turnout (Beta = .39 P<0.01). This effect is the same as the result before controlling for household income.

6.3 Socioeconomic Status and Likelihood of Voting in Future

Table 6-2 Socioeconomic Status and Likelihood of Voting  
(N = 243)

Socioeconomic Status	Likelihood of Voting		
	Yes	Not sure	No
	%	%	%
Education (A)			
Low (Below Junior Secondary)	29	50.4	20.6
High (Above Senior Secondary)	40	33.6	2.6
Occupation (B)			
Manual	24.7	51.5	23.7
Non-Manual	40.4	32.7	26.9
Professional	47.1	32.4	20.6
Household Income (C)			
Low (Below \$ 5000)	29.9	47.3	22.3
High (Over \$ 5000)	41.8	32.9	25.3
(A) Chisquare = 6.90,      N.S.      Gamma = 0.07 (B) Chisquare = 9.28,      N.S.      Gamma = 0.06 (C) Chisquare = 5.09,      N.S.      Gamma = 0.11			

Table 6-2 denotes that the correlation between each of the three socioeconomic status indicators and the likelihood of

voting is clearly linear. The association between either education or occupation and likelihood of voting is very low and statistically insignificant. Moreover, the correlation between household income and likelihood of voting in future is slightly related. The gamma is .11 but the relationship is insignificant. Although their correlation is insignificant, from the percentage distribution, we found out that the more educated, the more prestigious occupations or the higher household income groups had a higher rate of likelihood of voting.

This interesting finding seems to indicate that socioeconomic status does not have a significant effect as voting studies in western countries. Does it mean the variable Socioeconomic status is not suitable for this study? In my understanding, it might be due to the limitation of the social background in Sha Tin. Actually, the variable socioeconomic status is for the measurement of the social and economic difference among upper class, middle class, and lower class. However, Sha Tin is a new town with 60% of the inhabitants living in public housing estates, most of them are from the middle lower class family. There are very few inhabitants from upper or middle upper class, probably it may affect the effectiveness of socioeconomic status on voting turnout rate.

Even though, the effect of SES on voting is not obvious, comparing with the other two indicators household income has the greatest effect on voting. After controlling household income, we attempt to understand among the four



variables; community involvement, electoral involvement, political satisfaction, and concern with voting, and to find out which is the most effective factor affecting the likelihood of voting in future. The result shows that, in the lower income household the multiple correlation between the four variables and likelihood of voting in future is .50 and the relationship is statistically significant at the 0.01 level. In other words, the four independent variables could jointly account for 25% of the variance in the likelihood of voting in future. In the higher income household groups, the correlation is higher than the lower income group. The multiple correlation is .71, in other words, the four independent variables could jointly account for 51% of the variance in the likelihood of voting. Among these four variables, in the lower income household group, the variable political satisfaction has the greatest effect on the likelihood of voting ( $\text{Beta} = .35$   $P < 0.01$ ), in the higher income household group, the variable of the greatest effect on future voting was political satisfaction too ( $\text{Beta} = .40$   $P < 0.01$ ). It implies that even controlling for household income, the variable political satisfaction still has the greatest effect on the dependent variable of future voting.

However, the effect of these four variables on future voting are more significant in the higher household income group than the lower. In Sha Tin, people of the higher income group usually are from the private housing or at least from the Housing Scheme estates. People living in these housing usually are more difficult to mobilize for voting. Therefore, probably if they



vote they may follow an expected pattern, such as the pattern of political participation or the political attitude. On the other hand, people from lower income household, probably are living in public housing estates, they were more easy to mobilize by government staff and their reasons of voting are more fragmented than people from higher income household. Therefore, it may explain the reason why the greatest effect of these four variables on future voting is more significant in the higher household income group. On the other hand, we knew that political satisfaction has the highest effect on voting. It might be concluded that, Sha Tin inhabitants are more willing to see the good performance of District Administration, otherwise, they will no longer support District Administration by means of voting.

In this study, we had attempted to find out whether socioeconomic status affects both political factors and voting. However, we found out that the partial relationship of all the variables did not show any significant difference from the original relationship. It may be concluded that the causal relationship between political factors and voting is affected by socioeconomic status. In order to have a clear picture on the effect of socioeconomic status on each of the political factors, we try to find out the correlation between political factors and each of the three indicators of socioeconomic status.



Table 6-3 The Correlation between Political Factors and each  
of the three indicators of Socioeconomic Status  
(N = 243)

	Occupation	Education	Household Income
Community Involvement	Gamma = .24 P<0.001	Gamma = .49 P<0.001	Gamma = .42 P<0.001
Electoral Involvement	Gamma = .22 P<0.01	Gamma = .29 P<0.05	Gamma = .21 N.S.
Political Satisfaction	Gamma = .00 N.S.	Gamma = .16 N.S.	Gamma = .03 N.S.
Concern with Voting	Gamma = .23 N.S.	Gamma = .41 P<0.001	Gamma = .25 N.S.

Table 6-3 denotes the relationship between socioeconomic status and community involvement has an obvious and significant correlation. But the correlation between socioeconomic status and political satisfaction are very low and statistically insignificant. However, all of the correlation shows in the table are positive. In the interview I aware that the influences of the Mutual Aid Committee in Housing Scheme Estates are more active than in Public Housing Estates, therefore people from Housing Scheme Estate are more willing to involve in community activities. On the other hand, the socioeconomic status of the

people from Housing Scheme Estates are higher than from Public Housing Estates. Therefore, the result in community involvement are more obvious than the other variables might due to the above reason.

As the factors of political attitude, since Sha Tin residents were rather homogeneous in life styles as well as the socioeconomic status, then in the cognitive sense their attitude may not be so fragmented. Therefore, the correlation between socioeconomic status and political attitude are statistically insignificant might be due to this reason. That is to say there were no significant difference between lower and higher socioeconomic status.



## CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

The major objective of this study was to conduct a sample survey to examine the voting behavior and voting attitude of Sha Tin inhabitants during the District Board election in March 1982. Another objective was to predict the likelihood of voting in future. The data were collected from a proportional stratified random sampling of 243 adults aged 21 or above, in the electoral regions of Shatin, that is the Sha Tin Town Center, Siu Lek Yuen, Tin Sum Valley and Fo Tan (see Appendix D). Interviews were carried out in December 1982.

Political participation and political attitude were the two major types of independent variables in the present study. They were introduced to delineate the political characteristics of Sha Tin inhabitants. The concept of political participation was broken down into two dimensions; namely, community involvement and electoral involvement. The concept of political attitude was also broken into two dimensions: political satisfaction with District Administration and concern with voting.

In this study, we found that there was a higher rate of voting turnout among men than women, among public housing than squatter areas as well as private housing, and among members of higher socioeconomic groups. It is noted that the correlation

between household income levels and voting turnout is comparatively high.

Concerning the four independent variables --- community involvement, electoral involvement, political satisfaction and concern with voting scale, we found that there is no relationship between satisfaction with District Administration and voting turnout in March. However, the other three variables have a strong correlation with voting turnout. This result might be due to the ignorance of inhabitants towards District Administration before the period of District Board election campaign. From the impression of preliminary interviews, I found out that before the election campaign very few inhabitants had the idea of District Administration. At the same time, the activities of District Board were not extensive and widely known. Therefore, it might be rather difficult for the respondents to evaluate the performance of the government in District Administration, or the effectiveness of the District Board.

This argument may be valid since Table 5-5 shows that the correlation between political satisfaction and likelihood of voting in future is strong and positive. The effect of political satisfaction on the future voting is strong and significant, but it has no significant effect on the voting turnout in March. The significant effect of political satisfaction on future voting might be due to the increasing understanding of inhabitants towards District Administration after the period of election campaign. The interviews of this study was conducted in the



eighth month after voting. Within these eight month inhabitants might have been better informed on District Administration. The degree of their satisfaction was based on the evaluation of these information.

The data also show that Sha Tin inhabitants have a low rate of participation in political affairs. 65% of the respondents never discussed anything on District Board. Besides that, 91% of them never joined any election activity organized by the government or candidates. There were 25% who had joined community associations of some kind. But among this 25%, many of them only joined the Mutual Aid Committees capriciously. From his research findings, Lau (1977), also concludes that Hong Kong residents have a low rate of social participation.

As to the prediction of the likelihood of voting in future, among the four independent variables of this study, the multiple regression analysis indicated that political satisfaction has the greatest effect on the likelihood of voting in future. This effect is especially strong in the higher income group (Beta = .40  $P < 0.01$ ). That is to say, the degree of satisfaction with the performance of District Administration is the most important factor which might influence voting turnout in the future District Board election. The data of frequency distribution shows that 45% of the 243 respondents thought that the government is playing trick in District Board election. And more than half; 56% of them thought that District Board could only dealt with minor things in the district. In this case, we may say that



quite a large number of inhabitants were dissatisfied with the performance of District Administration in Sha Tin.

Another meaningful finding is that household visits of government staff during the period of registration were futile to the turnout rate. Table 4-9 indicates that during the period of registration, the self-initiated respondents were more willing to vote than those respondents encouraged to register by household visit government staff. In the 1982 New Territories District Board election there were about 300 people who were employed as temporary staff at the cost of \$200,000 to visit several hundred thousand household with district office staff. Their only duty was to encourage residents to fill in the registration form. However the encouragement through "forcible" motivation does not necessarily reach the expected effect, as 58% of the respondents who had been encouraged to register by government staff did not vote in March.

Now let us go further to see the motivations of non-voters. Data show that 31 respondents who had voted in March due to the reason of civil responsibility, support or concerned about the District Board. Within these 31 voters, 16.4% may not vote in future due to the lower degree of satisfaction with District Administration. Besides that, 11.7% of the non-voters having a high degree of electoral involvement but did not vote in March. It was due to dissatisfaction with District Administration too. There were 10.6% of the respondents with high community involvement also did not vote in March because of the same reason stated above. This implies the importance of satisfaction on the



impact of voting.

### Limitations

(1) The population of this study had to be based on the household data in August 1981; the period of District Board registration, but the sample frame of this study was based on the household data in March 1982. This limitation may cause errors and more time was needed in drawing samples and interviews. However, the compensation of this problems was discussed in the sampling procedure in Chapter 3.

(2) While drawing sample, we did not have any data about the household of voters. We did not know in which household there were voters. In the sample size we could not also equalize the number of voters and non-voters. The sample was not based on the proportion of the actual turnout rate in different categories like sex, ages etc. in the Sha Tin District Board election. This is a limitation in a comparative study of voters and non-voters.

(3) This is the first time that Hong Kong has a mass election, it was rather difficult to locate any previous studies or literature review which were related to mass election in Hong Kong.

(4) Theoretically, the effect of socioeconomic status on voting turnout is obvious and the correlation is high in many western countries. But the homogenous residents of Sha Tin, have a similar socioeconomic status. About 60% of them live in public housing. Probably, the effect of socioeconomic status on the voting turnout is not obvious in Sha Tin District Board election. On the other hand, we could not conclude any political



characteristic of the upper class in Sha Tin.

### Discussion

From the White paper of District Administration in Hong Kong, the main purpose for the establishment of District Board is to stimulate a greater degree of local participation in district level and to provide for local participation in the management of the community. Another purpose is to give closer attention to monitor the effects and co-ordination of government programmes at the district level. The White paper also stated that, the opportunity for participation in district administration should be through an electoral process with a broader base than that of the past Urban Council election (Hong Kong Government 1981.: P.4).

The role of the District Board had to act as a mechanism of monitoring the government policy in district level. And District Board members may be aware that their position can be changed by means of popular election. It is possible that they may be ousted from the Board. The idea of democratic participation in District Board is that the members should be chosen by and rule with the approval of the people. However, the government emphasizes too much on the voting turnout rate and not the nature of democratic participation. In this sense, election at the most is a ritualistic element of democracy. That is to say, election have very little direct influence on the decision making of government policy in district level. In this case, the purpose of decentralization of power is only a quixotic ruse. Popular election is only a way to legitimize a political



system in District Administration, where the right to handle district affairs is not by divine sanction but by the 'will of people' of the district (Dowse and Hughes 1975 :PP.325-335).

However, the decision making system in District Board also remains unchanged (Lau 1981). The power will be in the hands of Official Members. In this sense, it is vain to encourage resident participation in district affairs. Political participation at the most is treated as a function of political socialization. Since socialization may arouse the higher standard of political culture, then the evaluation power of residents in political affairs will be higher too. On the other hand, if the degree of administrative decentralization lags behind the political needs of residents, political crisis may occur. As Easton [17] suggested, if government performance cannot fulfill the satisfaction of political needs of residents, then political action may mildly occur, and election may be boycotted. From the result of this study, we found out that the degree of political satisfaction of respondents has the greatest effect on future voting. The voting turnout rate of the next District Board election in 1985 may be based on the performance of District Boards as well as government policy on District Administration. If inhabitants' evaluation is rated positively, District Boards will continue to be supported, otherwise, elections may be boycotted or even political instability may be aroused.

Actually, an idealistic and practical decentralization of power in District Administration has to be based on the authority



of monitoring government politics at district level. On the other hand, the functions of popular control over political systems, as well as over those holding the board has to be recognized.

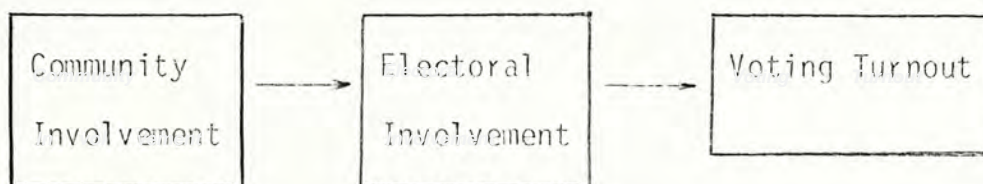
Since there were no legal penalties or sanctions for the non-performance of unofficial members, then the verdict of electors may help to maintain or restore respect for the authority of District Boards. The position of irresponsible unofficial members can be discharged by popular verdict. Therefore, District Board unofficial members may be lead to enforce the duties to 'reconnoitre' the public needs in Sha Tin, in other words, the decision of popular election is no more a rash act. Electors may perceive voting as a potent political force. In this sense, it is a way of political sociolization. Through the basis of a broad franchise, residents might learn how to behave during participation.

Finally in considering the future investigation, I suggest that the sociological approach of the study of voting behaviour probably covers the following possibility that we should not confine ourselves to one community but study on a comparative basis several communities which vary in sociologically significant ways. In my understanding, the traditional aspect of the Sha Tin community has a specific characteristic towards political affairs. [18]. However, this specific characteristic may be eliminated by the emergence of urbanization in Sha Tin.



Another research focus was based on the 2 dimensions of political participation, as well as political attitude. In the present study the concept political participation is broken into community involvement and electoral involvement. From the findings of this study we know electoral involvement has the greatest effect on the voting turnout in March 1982. For future studies, it will be meaningful to see whether electoral involvement act as an intervening variable between community involvement and voting turnout. The focus can be based on the following model.

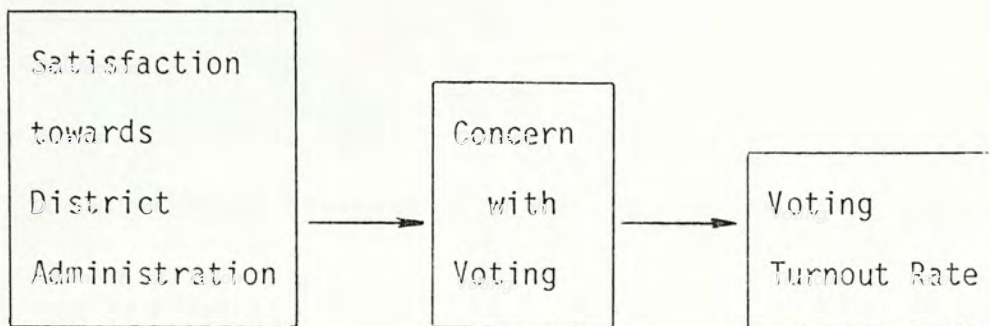
Model A



In Model A, electoral involvement viewed as a consequence of community involvement (independent variable) and as a determinant of voting turnout (dependent variable). That is to say the electoral involvement is conceptualized as intervening variable between the community involvement and the voting turnout.

From Table 4-6 and Table 4-7, we found that the variable concern with voting has a stronger correlation with voting turnout than the variable political satisfaction. We can apply the variable concern with voting as an intervening variable between political satisfaction and voting turnout, to see whether these two variables are independently affect the turnout rate.

### Model B



In Model B, attitude towards voting is viewed as a consequence of satisfaction towards District Administration (independent variable) and as a determinant of voting turnout rate (dependent variable).

Lastly this study is only part of the beginning of this field in Hong Kong. Anyway, a long-range study may pave the way to look for the regular patterns of the behaviour of the constituents.



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13. see also Milbrath(1976), Political Participation pp.114-28.
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16. Refer to Chapter 3 of this thesis: Summary of the Questionnaire, see also Appendix C, a copy of the questionnaire.
17. David Easton, The Political System New York Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.
18. refer to Appendix A of the present thesis.



## Appendix A

### The Political Background in Sha Tin

In 1974 the new district of Sha Tin split from the Tai Po District, indigenous rural organizations were exposed to the penetration of external political power, that is the functionally departmentated government structure. The aims of this penetration is to deal more effectively with the problem of urbanization of New Town in Sha Tin and actions were made to strengthen the administrative structure.

However, the traditional Chinese thought has a great impact on village people. This chapter seeks to trace the political root in Sha Tin. When we consider the political structure in the New Territories administration, we must refer to the question that in such a small colony of Hong Kong, there are two different types of administrations in the New Territories and the urban areas of Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Peninsula. Obviously, the answer lies in the difference between these two areas in their native characteristics, geographical situation as well as legal status, etc. As we know, the urban areas of Hong Kong Island and Kowloon were ceded to Great Britain permanently. While the New Territories were leased for a term of 99 years. The exercise of British sovereignty in a leased territory is different in scale from a ceded colony (Cheng 1982). The Urban areas of the Hong Kong Islands and Kowloon are under the Secretariat for China affairs, and the region of the New Territories is administrated by appointed District Officers, the district office system is a regionalized local administration.

Although Sha Tin is situated only a few miles north of



Kowloon, to which it is linked both by road and rail, before 1970's the area remained largely rural. Residents in Sha Tin were organized in the traditional Chinese style by the elders in a clan. Therefore, in the task of co-ordination between government and village residents, the Administration District Officers was helped by the various New Territories native organizations, such as the clan association, the local business group, local educational group, or even advised and assisted by an elaborated system of locally elected elders and councils who maintain a channel of communication between government and the community (Miners 1981). It shows, the government seems to be more willing to listen to the local opinions, in order to achieve a more harmonious and consensual governance in the New Territories.

In early colony ruling, the government's policy was to interfere as little as possible and to recognize the traditional way of life in the New Territories and adopt the Chinese customary methods of administration for the maintenance of order and the collection of Crown revenue. In order to reduce the number of British officials to a minium, the government hoped to govern the leased area through the village elders, village representatives, and indigenous elites (Endacott 1964).

The existing functions of village representatives, Rural Committee, and the Heung Yee Kuk (translated as "Rural Consulative Committee") are obvious. The philosophy of governance is based on the function of indirect soothing, and minimization of direct dispute, with the village representative, the Rural



Committee, and the Heung Yee Kuk as the lubrication elements. Through them, many disputes may be solved more easily. The Chinese seemed to stress more in harmony in human relations than power or right in politics, the term 'morality' is obvious in the mind of traditional Chinese people. However, this philosophy has its concrete function, village representatives have no direct responsibility to the government and they have no statutory power or duties. Even though, they do not have any formal political power, they still can help to solve many disputes by means of this traditional Chinese philosophy. They behave according to the moral principles and in return, achieve a high moral status or prestige from their fellow village people. Their functions are to represent the people of their village for request or complaint, and act as a link between them and the administration. They are the shield and the lubrication of friction between government and village people.

Another political ideology that traditional Chinese people have is the idea that political authority was centralized in the 'one man at the top' (Cheng 1980). The village representative may be considered as one of the top man in the village. They were responsible for the success or failure of the village affairs. The consensus and obedience of village people to the village representative was considered as one of the essential condition to back up the representative to put pressure on the top man of Rural Committee, or the Heung Yee Kuk. Therefore, each time when there was an election of village representatives in the village, usually the voting turnout rate was very high sometimes even



more than 95% of the village people vote, this estimation was told by the Chairman of The Sha Tin Rural Committee 1983. In this sense, village people, are more easily mobilized by the top man for the sake of the interest of the clan or the village. Besides this, rural people elect more village representatives, or village leaders more frequently than any other residents in Urban areas. At the grass root level, they choose a chairman for a clan association, or lineage group. At the village level they vote for a village representative. They also vote for their rural eldest in the kinship groups etc. Do they really understand the role of the elected leaders or the meaning of election? At least they have participated and they are accustomed to these formal or informal political activities. It shapes the specific characteristic of village people in political affairs. They think that gathered in political activities is for the integration and interest of the whole village. This is an important factor that drove the successful rate in Northern New territories, and Islands District Board election. But Sha Tin is somewhat different from other rural areas. This may be due to the blurred demarcation between urban and rural areas in Sha Tin. Recently, the modification of political structure provok a greater change in traditional village. In the past decades structural changes have reduced cohesiveness in village life, thus collection action was more difficult to organize and mobilize (Kwan and Lau 1979).

It is obvious that, in recent years urbanization of Sha Tin may reduce the proportion of indigenous villages. Sha Tin is more receptive to development, more and more villagers have been



involved into the process of urbanization. In the transition period from traditional to modern, Sha Tin no longer depends on the indigenous organization and kinship groupings. Village people no longer live with the same clan. In the development of Sha Tin new town, the demarcation between traditional identification and modern social life, have become imperceptible. Particularly, the traditional identification in Sha Tin village were neutralized by outsiders.

The people in traditional New Territories had never had the idea of civil rights or political power, the only right they know is from the "Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong". The contents of the treaty prescribed that land "should be bought at a fair price" (Cheng 1982). The only right they concern about was the compensation of the purchased land by the government for public use. On the other hand, they have learned how to play politics with the government. After the year 1974, there are one more role of opinion leader in Sha Tin, they are the 'Prominent citizen', most of them are young people and elected by community leaders in Sha Tin. In recent years there are another group of 'Special Councillors' who are elected by the general assembly of the Rural Committee. They can sit for the meeting of Heung Yee Kuk and act as representative of Sha Tin inhabitants. In recent year, the political operation in Sha Tin are more tended to a formal way of interaction.

## Appendix B-1

Hierarchy of political involvement <adapted from Lester Milbrath,  
Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965)>

1. Holding public and party office
2. Being a candidate for office
3. Soliciting political funds
4. Attending a caucus or a strategy meeting
5. Becoming an active member in a political  
party
6. Contributing time in a political campaign
7. Attending a political meeting or rally
8. Making a monetary contribution to a party or  
candidate
9. Contacting a public official or a political leader
10. Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car
11. Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way
12. Initiating a political discussion
13. Voting
14. Exposing oneself to political stimuli

\*\*1--6 Gladiatorial Activities  
\*\*7--9 Transitional Activities  
\*\*10--14 Spectator Activities



Appendix B-2

TYPE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1. Report regularly voting in Presidential elections
2. Report always voting in local elections
3. Active in at least one organization involved in community problems
4. Have worked with others in trying to solve some community problems
5. Have attempted to persuade others to vote as they were
6. Have ever actively worked for a party or candidates during an election
7. Have ever contacted a local government official about some issue or problem
8. Have attended at least one political meeting or rally in last three years
9. Have ever contacted a state or national government official about some issue or problem
10. Have ever formed a group or organization to attempt to solve some local community problem
11. Have ever given money to a party or candidate during an

election campaign

12. Presently a member of a political club or organization

Source: Adapted from Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, Participation  
in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality  
(New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p.131.



## 沙田居民投票心態研究

咭

1

2

問卷編號 K88273

3

電腦卡編號

4

被訪問居民所屬選區

1. \_\_\_\_\_

沙田市中心

2. \_\_\_\_\_

小瀝源

3. \_\_\_\_\_

田心谷

4. \_\_\_\_\_

火炭

5

先生 小姐 女士

我係中文大學學生，而家正進行緊一項研究，作為我的畢業論文，題目係有關沙田居民喺區議會選舉時對投票有乜睇法，而家有D問題想請教你。你俾我嘅答案，我會交由電腦處理，因此絕對保密，請你放心回答。

1. 性別

1. 男

2. 女

6

2. 請問你係沙田住左幾年呢？

1. 未夠一年

5. 七年至足十年

2. 一年到足兩年

6. 十一年以上

3. 三年到足四年

9. 不知道

4. 五年到足六年

10. 無答案

7

3. 請問你今年幾多歲

1. 21-25歲

5. 50-60歲

2. 26-30歲

6. 61歲或以上

3. 31-40歲

9. 不知道

4. 41-50歲

0. 無答案

8

4. 請問你係做乜嘢職業嘅呢？

請問你嘅職位係乜嘢？

9

10

5. 請問你嘅學歷到乜嘢程度呢？

1. 無正式教育

5. 預科

2. 小學或已畢業

6. 專上或大學畢業或以上

3. 初中或初中畢業

9. 不知道

4. 高中或高中畢業

0. 無答案

11

請問你邊到畢業

1. 香港

2. 大陸

3. 其他

9. 不知道

0. 無答案

(註明)

12

6. 請問你係單身還是結左婚呢？

1. 未婚

3. 分居

5. 喪偶或離婚

2. 已婚

4. 離婚

9. 不知道

0. 無答案

13



17. 請問你全家每個月平均有幾多錢收入呢?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 1000元或以下
2. \_\_\_\_\_ 1001元 - 3000元
3. \_\_\_\_\_ 3001元 - 5000元
4. \_\_\_\_\_ 5001元 - 7000元
5. \_\_\_\_\_ 7001元 - 9000元
6. \_\_\_\_\_ 9000元 - 11,000元
7. \_\_\_\_\_ 11,001元 - 20,000元
8. \_\_\_\_\_ 20,000元以上
9. \_\_\_\_\_ 不知道
0. \_\_\_\_\_ 無答案

14

8. 請問你哋住喺呢到呢屋企人，有幾多人出去做嘢負擔屋企的開支。

\_\_\_\_\_ 人      99 \_\_\_\_\_ 不知道  
                         00 \_\_\_\_\_ 無答案

-15

-16

請問你哋全家的收入要負擔幾多個人的生活呢

\_\_\_\_\_ 人

99 \_\_\_\_\_ 不知道  
00 \_\_\_\_\_ 無答案

17

18

9. 住屋性質 (訪問員自填)

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 公共屋宇  
2. \_\_\_\_\_ 臨時安置區  
3. \_\_\_\_\_ 木屋, 鐵皮屋, 石屋,  
4. \_\_\_\_\_ 宿舍 (註明) \_\_\_\_\_  
5. \_\_\_\_\_ 私人屋宇  
6. \_\_\_\_\_ 其他 (註明) \_\_\_\_\_

19

如私人屋宇、宿舍等。你住緊呢度係自己買嘅還是係租嘅呢？

- |          |        |          |        |
|----------|--------|----------|--------|
| 1. _____ | 自備的    | 5. _____ | 其他(註明) |
| 2. _____ | 租回來的   | 9. _____ | 不知道    |
| 3. _____ | 寄住不用交租 | 0. _____ | 無答案    |
| 4. _____ | 祖屋不用交租 |          |        |

20



## B 社區參與

10. 你有無同任何人討論過區議會選舉的事？

1. ☐ 從來沒有  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

21

11. 你有無參加過沙田區內的社區服務工作？

1. ☐ 從來沒有  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

22

如有：請註明參加什麼工作

什麼團體主辦

12. 你有無睇過新沙田或沙田星報之類的沙田區報紙？

1. ☐ 從來沒有  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

23

13. 你有無向負責區內公共事務的有關單位，投訴或發表意見，為改善區內環境，治安及福利設施等事情？

1. ☐ 從有沒  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

24

## C. 選舉參與

14. 在選舉前你有無聽過電台或電視台討論新界區議會選舉的事？

1. ☐ 從來沒有  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

25

15. 在選舉前你有無詳細睇過報紙或任何雜誌，介紹選舉人或選舉人背景？

1. ☐ 從來沒有  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

26



16. 在選舉前，你有無詳細睇過候選人的政綱或宣傳單張？

1. ☐ 從來沒有  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

27

17. 在選舉前，你有無參加過候選人所舉辦的任何活動？  
(例如：諮詢大會，幫過助選，請食飯等活動)

1. ☐ 從來沒有  
2. ☐ 間中  
3. ☐ 經常

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

28

18. 你私底下認唔認識得候選人。

1. ☐ 非常熟識  
2. ☐ 啲啲識識  
3. ☐ 完全唔識

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

29

#### D 登記與選舉

19. 舊年八月你有無登記做選民呢？

1. ☐ 有  
2. ☐ 無

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

30

→ 你係自動自覺去登記做選民，還係  
由互助委員會、理民府、房屋署等官員或社區幹事  
等人鼓勵，幫助你去登記嘅呢？

1. ☐ 自動自覺  
2. ☐ 此等官員鼓勵

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

31

20. 今年三月區議會選舉你有無去投票呢？

1. ☐ 有  
2. ☐ 無

9. ☐ 不知道  
0. ☐ 無答案

32



21. 已經投票者回答

請按照你心目中認為你去投票的最主要因素及次要因素，  
順次序選出兩個答案

01. 非常關心區議會，所以去投票

02. 對區議會毫無認識下，被人影響去投票的

03. 一些社區組織極力鼓勵下才去投票

04. 因為好玩，好有新鮮感，幾得意呀！

05. 我識個候選人，如佢不當選，我會失面子。

06. 投票是市民應盡的責任

07. 朋友慫恿，為了一份人情，唔去唔好意思嘅。

08. 投沙田原居民一票，盡量減少外來居民當選的機會

09. 報答候選人以往對我的幫忙和照顧

10. 區議員是熱心公益的民意代表，所以去投票

11. 投票便會得到候選人酬謝。

12. 有位候選人聲譽好，有名望，我好尊敬他。

13. 我非常支持區議會，對這組織有希望。

14. 某人當選對我有好處。

15. 想去見識下。

16. 贊同候選人的政綱，政見。

17. 毫無認識 不唔去下無所謂㗎

33

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35

36



沒有投票者回答

請按照你心目中認為你不去投票的最主要因素  
及次要因素，順次序選出兩個答案。

1. 時間不適合，當日不是假期

2. 投票站太遠，唔就腳

3. 跟本不認識候選人，亂投不如唔投

4. 要杯葛區議會選舉，表示對今次選舉不滿

5. 區議會幫不到什麼事，所以唔去投票。

6. 對區議員的責任感沒有信心，他們多為私己聲譽及利益。

7. 區議員跟本無實權管理區內事，投都無用啦！

8. 跟本唔知什麼區議會什麼選舉。

9. 為工作早出晚歸，跟本無注意區內事務。

10. 區議會選舉是政府假民主的把戲，投票便會上當了。

11. 對選舉投票，區議會等事，無興趣。

最主要因素

次要因素

其他原因



政治滿意

23. 區內的公共事務, 只要有區議員決定點樣做就可以嘞。  
市民就算無權去決定點樣做亦無所謂。

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

41

24. 區議會只係管D芝麻綠豆嘅小事, 至於重要的政策, 跟本唔到佢話事。

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

42

25. 區議會鼓勵居民多為區內事務發表意見, 只不過是假民主, 實際上政府並不是很有誠意搞政治民主。

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

43

26. 沙田區的居民參加區議會的活動大部份只局限於康樂活動, 而不能真正參與區內公共事務及決策。

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

44

27. 政府在新界區議會選舉前的準備功夫係唔係做得好足夠呢。

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

45



28. 選出來的區議員有足夠的能力及權力代表區內民意，向政府爭取權益。

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

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29. 如果現在再次舉行選舉，你會唔會去投票？

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

— 47

民選的區議員，係唔係多少對政府有一種制約或監督作用

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

F. 重視投票程度

既然已經有這麼多人去投票，係唔係你覺得就算再投一票並不能起好大作用。

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

— 48

誰當選對你沒有多大影響，係唔係投唔投票都無乜所謂呢？

1. 非常贊成
2. 贊成
3. 不贊成
4. 非常不贊成

9. 不知道  
0. 無答案

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